

THE MEDIEVAL MEDITERRANEAN * BRILL

The New Solomon

Robert of Naples (1309-1343) and
Fourteenth-Century Kingship

Samantha Kelly



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THE NEW SOLOMON

THE MEDIEVAL MEDITERRANEAN

PEOPLES, ECONOMIES AND CULTURES, 400-1500

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THE NEW SOLOMON

*Robert of Naples (1309-1343)
and Fourteenth-Century Kingship*

BY

SAMANTHA KELLY



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On the cover: King Robert in Majesty. Cristoforo Orimina, c. 1340. Manuscript illumination from the "Bible of Malines," Leuven, Bibliotheek Faculteit Theologie, MS 1, fol. 234.
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Like another Solomon, most wise, builder of the house of God, he
will reign in peace.

Guglielmo da Sarzano, c. 1325

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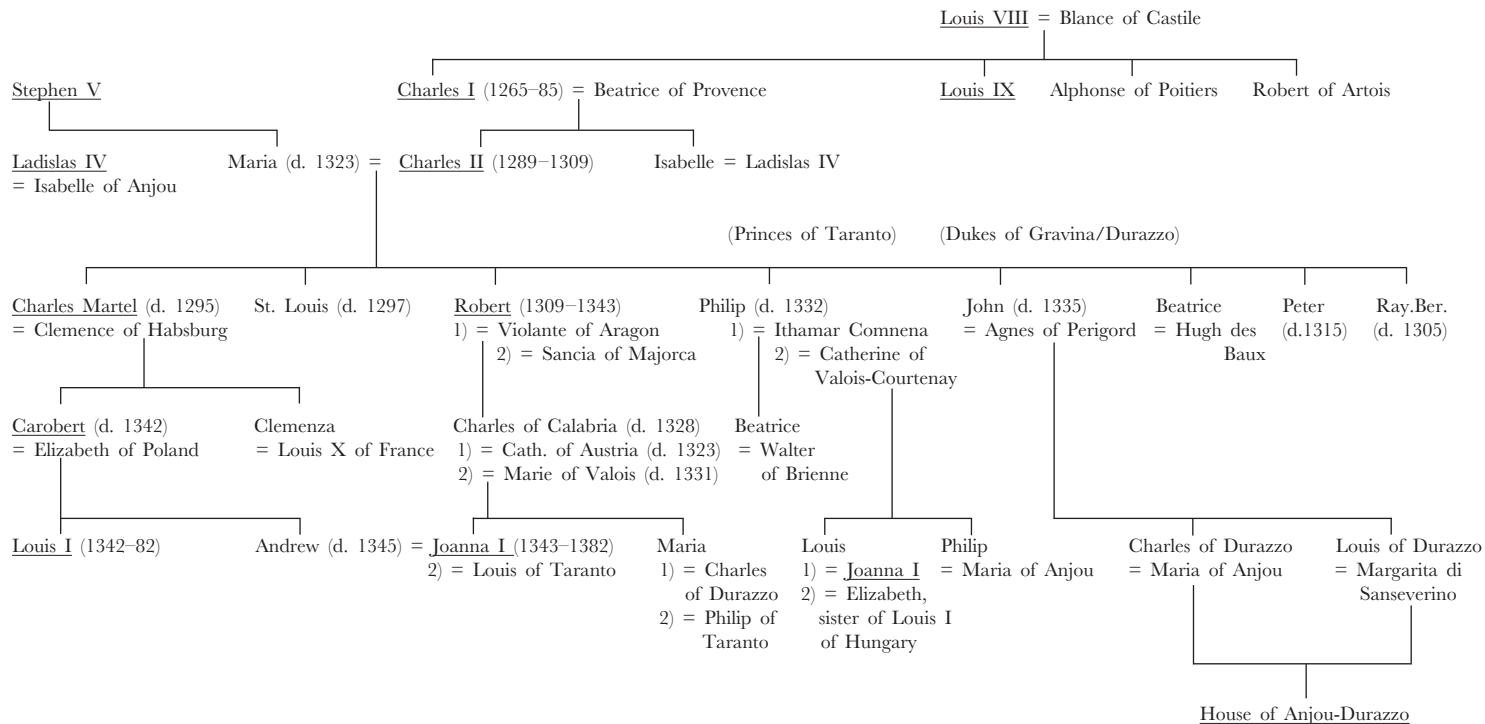
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AFH</i>	<i>Archivum Franciscanum Historicum</i>
<i>AFP</i>	<i>Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum</i>
<i>ALKG</i>	<i>Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters</i>
<i>ASPn</i>	<i>Archivio storico per le province napoletane</i>
Bibl. Ang. 150 (151)	Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 150 (or 151)
<i>Bull. Franc.</i>	<i>Bullarium franciscanum</i>
<i>CUP</i>	<i>Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis</i>
<i>DBI</i>	<i>Dizionario biografico degli Italiani</i>
<i>SOP</i>	<i>Scriptores ordinis Praedicatorum medii aevi</i>

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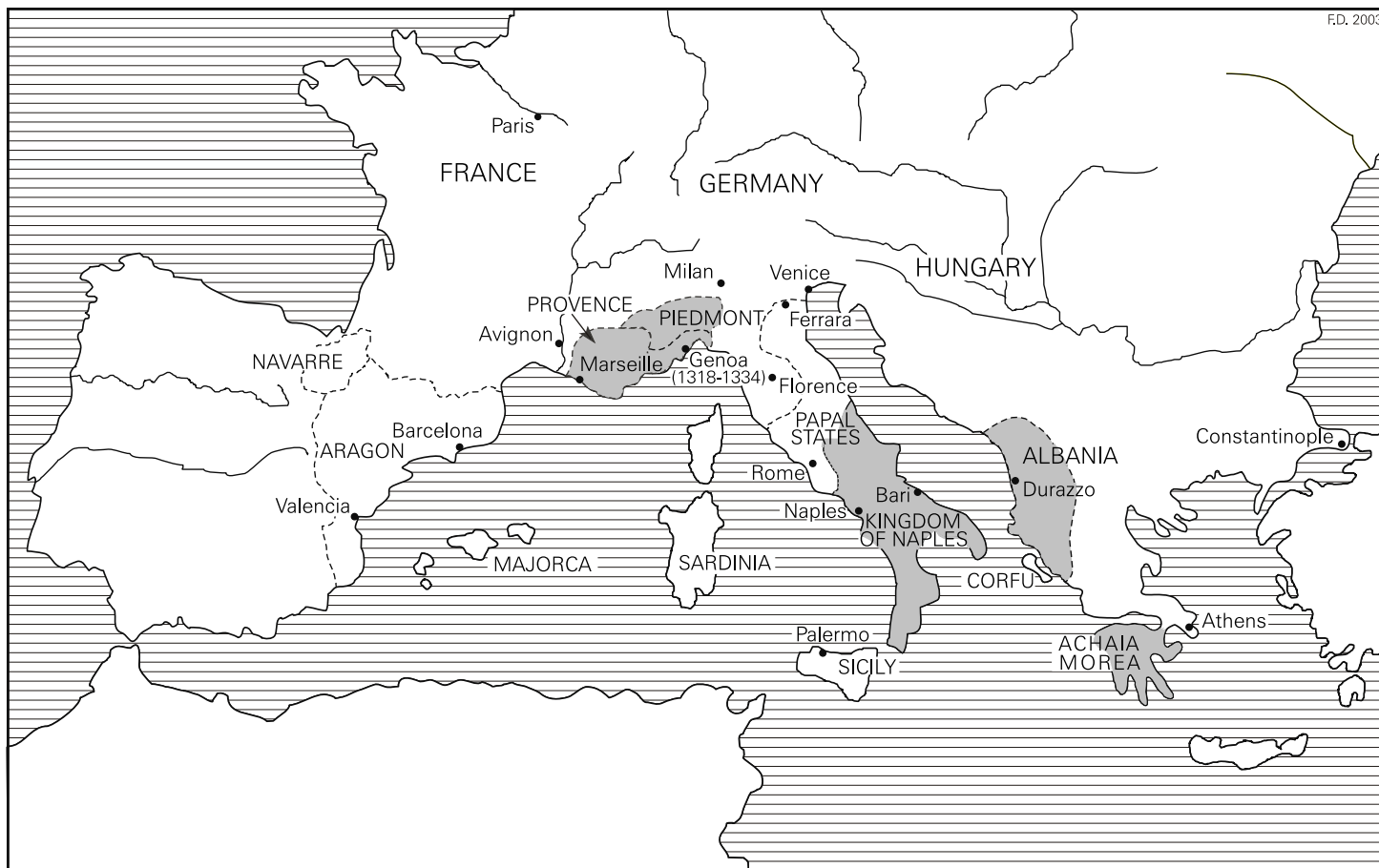
ABRUZZO CITRA: Province.*

Potenza: Baronial town/ seat of county

Pozzuoli: Other town

*the county of Molise was part of the province of Terra di Lavoro

Map 1. The Kingdom of Naples



Map 2. Territories of the Neapolitan Angevins, Early 14th century

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Robert of Anjou, King of Naples (1309–1343) had the mixed blessing of living in the age of two of Europe's most famous literary figures, both of whom left enduring, but opposite, portraits of his rule. The first was Dante, who sketched Robert's character in cantos eight and nine of his *Paradiso*. Dante's mouthpiece was Charles Martel, Robert's eldest brother, who would have succeeded to the throne of Naples had he not died prematurely in 1295. He now spoke to Dante from his circle of heaven about the brother who still occupied the throne. Unlike their father, King Charles II, Robert was avaricious—"a mean [nature] descended from a generous"—and generally unfit for the royal task: "if nature meets with fortune unsuited to it . . . it has ill success." Indeed, the fortunes of Charles Martel's two younger brothers had been reversed. The second son, Louis, was "born to gird on the sword," but had become a religious instead, while Robert, suited only to the cloister, had become king. "You make a king of one that is fit for sermons, so that your track is off the road."¹ What is more, Robert was deceitful. So Dante hinted in the following canto, where Charles Martel alluded to "the treacheries his seed was to suffer" as Robert usurped a throne rightfully belonging, if not to Louis, then to Charles Martel's own young son.² All told it was a grim portrait: miserly, unmartial, treacherous, and fit only for useless preaching, Robert was unkingly in every way.

¹ "La sua natura, che di larga parca discese. . . . Sempre natura, se fortuna trova discorde a sè . . . fa mala prova. E se 'l mondo là giù ponesse mente al fondamento che natura pone, seguendo lui, avria buona la gente. Ma voi torcete alla religione tale che fia nato a cignersi la spada, e fate re di tal ch'è da sermone: onde traccia vostra è fuor di strada." *Paradiso*, canto VIII, lines 82–3, 139–48. Cited from the edition and translation of J.D. Sinclair, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri. III: Paradiso* (Oxford and New York, 1939; repr. 1981), 120–125, with commentary at 129–130.

² Dante, now speaking to Charles Martel's queen Clemenza, summarizes his earlier conversation with Charles Martel: "Da poi che Carlo tuo, bella Clemenza, m'ebbe chiarito, mi narrò li 'nganni che ricever doveva sua semenza." Canto IX, lines 1–3, cited from *ibid.*, 132, with commentary at 141.

Robert's second famous portraitist was Petrarch, who first met the king during a month-long visit to Naples in 1341. The purpose of the trip was a three-day "examination" in which Robert judged Petrarch's worthiness for the poet's laurel, and then sent him off for the coronation itself in Rome. Thereafter, Petrarch described Robert in his many letters in consistently superlative terms. "He was wise, he was kind, he was high-minded and gentle, he was the king of kings," Petrarch wrote to a government minister in Naples after Robert's death, and urged the current king of the realm to imitate Robert's example.³ He was "that eminent king and philosopher, Robert, as famous for his culture as for his rule, and the only king of our age who was at once the friend of knowledge and of virtue;" "the star of Italy and great honor of our century," or again, "the king of Sicily, or rather, if you consider true excellence, king of kings."⁴

Personal allegiance doubtless colored their different impressions of the king. Dante was a supporter of one of Robert's great rivals, Emperor Henry VII, and had been exiled from his beloved Florence by a faction allied with the Angevins. Petrarch, by contrast, had reason to be grateful to the monarch for affirming his worthiness for the poetic laureation. But other well-known contemporaries seconded their judgments. The poets Niccolò Rosso of Treviso, Pietro Faytinelli, and the author of the *Ballad of Montecatini* sided with Dante in criticizing Robert's avarice, cowardice, and useless preaching; the preacher Remigio de' Girolami, the chronicler Giovanni Villani, and the Parmesan author Gabrio de' Zamorei, among others, instead lauded his wisdom, peacemaking, and generally ideal rule.⁵ Further, their divergent portraits were essentially different interpretations of the same characteristics. Should a king be gentle, as Petrarch lauded Robert, or "born to gird the sword"? Did erudition make the monarch a "king of kings," or, in Dante's scornful phrase, a "re da sermone," fit only for preaching? Their opposite views suggest a general uncertainty about what constituted good and proper rule in the fourteenth century.

³ *Rer. Fam.* XII, 2. Cited from Francis Petrarch, *Letters on Familiar Things: Rerum familiarum libri*, trans. Aldo Bernardo, 3 vols. (Baltimore, 1975–85), 2: 139. On its dating see Ernest Wilkins, *Petrarch's Correspondence* (Padua, 1960), 68.

⁴ *Rer. Sen.* XVIII, 1; III, 4; and X, 4. See Francis Petrarch, *Letters of Old Age. Rerum Senilium Libri I–XVIII*, trans. Aldo Bernardo et al., 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1992), 2: 677, 1: 96, 2: 389.

⁵ See Chapters Six and Seven for a fuller discussion of these and other commentators.

Given the dramatic and largely calamitous changes for which the century is known, such uncertainty may not be surprising. The steady increase in food supply, population, trade, and government organization that had characterized the twelfth and thirteenth centuries seemed to reach its limit in the years around 1300. Following in its wake were common food shortages, the weakening and collapse of international banking houses, the constriction of long-distance trade. Long and seemingly insoluble wars erupted between England and France, and among the multiple regional powers in Germany and in northern Italy; peasant rebellions flared in Flanders, the Basque region, France, and England; revolutions briefly overturned the political order in Rome in 1347 and in Florence in 1378, while kings of England and Castile were deposed and murdered in 1327, 1369, and 1399. The most dramatic calamity of the century was the Black Death that struck the continent from 1347 to 1351, and took with it some third to half of Europe's population. Among the swells and troughs with which historians often map the history of Europe, the fourteenth century appears as perhaps that history's nadir, the prototypical "age of adversity."⁶

The broad question this study aims to explore is what it meant to be king in such an age: how rulership adapted (or didn't adapt) to an altered social, economic, and political context, whether it betrayed certain tendencies characteristic of the century, and how it might compare to European rulership in an earlier and a later period. It must be said that even the basic terms of such an exploration remain open to debate. The influential template proposed by Joseph R. Strayer cast the "long fourteenth century" as a period of stagnation and regression in kingship as in other aspects of society. The age's crises "discouraged the normal development of the apparatus of the state," such that politics throughout Latin Christendom "were less effective political instruments in 1450 than they had been in 1300."⁷ For Bernard Guenée, too, this period constitutes a distinct age in European history, though its characteristics are to him something still to be demonstrated. "Is there not reason to place this period, too often marginal, resolutely at the center—to treat the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the evolution of the Occidental states

⁶ For a brief overview of the century's difficulties, see Robert E. Lerner, *The Age of Adversity* (Ithaca, 1967).

⁷ Joseph R. Strayer, *The Medieval Origins of the Modern State* (Princeton, 1970), 89.

as a stage as autonomous and as distinctive as the ‘medieval’ and ‘modern’?”⁸ More recent scholarship, however, has tended to call into question not only the notion of fourteenth-century governmental decline, but the periodization itself. Some have ventured that the challenges of the fourteenth century inspired innovation, not regression. They cite the creation of a centrally-controlled army, new forms of and emphasis on royal ceremony and display, and the articulation of a scripted “court etiquette” magnifying the prince’s majesty as some of the practices inaugurated by fourteenth-century rulers that would be perpetuated by subsequent “Renaissance” monarchs.⁹ Others have stressed less the modernity of the fourteenth century than the unmodern qualities still persisting in a later age. Such “modern” features as the autonomy and professionalization of the government bureaucracy and the princely emphasis on majestic distance from subjects cannot, in their view, be considered prevalent even in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries.¹⁰ Perhaps telling of this new atmosphere is Glenn Richardson’s recent study of *Renaissance Monarchy*, which pointedly avoids any claims of novelty that would distinguish Renaissance rule from earlier patterns.¹¹ Without denying that change certainly occurred over several centuries, such works call attention to the halting and uneven nature of that change. Some aspects of rulership altered more rapidly than others, some witnessed as much return to traditional modes as innovation, and in different regions, certainly, at different times. If anything, therefore, there is more need to look closely at particular ruling practices and their contexts through-

⁸ Bernard Guenée, *L’Occident aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles: Les États*, 5th ed. (Paris, 1993; 1st ed. 1971), 78.

⁹ Christopher Allmand, *The Hundred Years War. England and France at War, c. 1300–c. 1450* (Cambridge, Eng., 1989), 95, 143, 147; Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court. Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270–1380* (Oxford, 2001), 17–18; Werner Paravicini, “The Court of the Dukes of Burgundy: A Model for Europe?” in *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility. The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, c. 1450–1650*, ed. Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (Oxford, 1991), 99.

¹⁰ David Starkey, “Introduction: Court History in Perspective,” in *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. D. Starkey (London and New York, 1987), 12–16; Trevor Dean, “The Courts,” in *The Origins of the State in Italy, 1300–1600*, ed. Julius Kirschner (Chicago, 1996), 144–148.

¹¹ Glenn Richardson, *Renaissance Monarchy. The Reigns of Henry VIII, Francis I, and Charles V* (London and New York, 2002), 35, who observes that the three qualities he associated with Renaissance monarchy were “the central ideal of monarchy before [and] after” as well as during this period, and that Henry, Francis and Charles “never forgot the medieval archetype of monarchy.”

out the long period between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, with an eye to the larger chronological and geographical picture.

Robert's reign is a rich and largely untapped source for examining questions of rulership in the early phase of this contested period, for his career intersected with many of the fourteenth century's great political, religious, and cultural developments. He was, first of all, a figure of considerable influence on the European stage, thanks to the congeries of territories he had inherited from his predecessors. His grandfather, Charles I, had single-handedly amassed the lands and titles that would pass to Robert. Born a Capetian prince and invested early with the county of Anjou that would later lend its name to his dynasty (though the county itself left their hands in 1290), Charles acquired the county of Provence by marrying its heiress, Beatrice, in 1246. He then extended his dominion into neighboring Piedmont, establishing a foothold that his successors would build upon and style the "county of Piedmont" in the early fourteenth century. His greatest success, however, was in acquiring a royal crown to match that of his brother, Louis IX of France. At the pope's request, Charles I launched a campaign to oust the heirs of Frederick II from the Kingdom of Sicily. His victory was assured by 1266, when he defeated Frederick's son Manfred at Benevento, and in reward for his services Charles received the kingdom in fief from the papacy, much as the Norman and Staufen kings of the realm had done before. Not content with these lands, Charles bought the Kingdom of Jerusalem from its heiress, Marie of Antioch, in 1277, and arranged marriage alliances that would lay the ground for further conquest in the eastern Mediterranean, including an alliance with the Árpád dynasty of Hungary that wed his heir, Charles II, to the princess Maria. The borders of this "Angevin empire" had shifted by the time of Robert's succession. The kingdom of Jerusalem was finally lost to western hands with the fall of Acre in 1291, though Robert retained its prestigious title. Charles I's planned campaign to conquer the eastern empire came to nothing, but his son Charles II did establish a foothold in Albania and Greece, lands that were entrusted to Robert's brothers and that Robert oversaw as suzerain. Most calamitous was the loss of Sicily in 1282, in the uprising known as the Sicilian Vespers. The islanders placed themselves thereafter under the rule of a reigning king or younger son of the House of Aragon, and never returned to Angevin dominion. Historians refer to the post-vespers realm as the Kingdom of Naples (or simply the Regno)

in recognition of this territorial loss, but the Angevins themselves continued to style themselves Kings of Sicily, and never accepted the irreversibility of its loss.

The considerable territories remaining to the Angevins by Robert's time—which included the Kingdom of Naples and the counties of Provence and Piedmont, as well as the duchy of Durazzo (Albania) and the principality of Achaia entrusted to Robert's brothers—were as affected by the crises of the fourteenth century as were any in Europe. Indeed, it has been argued that the “age of adversity” began early in southern Italy, with that loss of Sicily that caused not only fiscal problems for the rump kingdom deprived of island wealth, but a long and intractable war for its recovery that is comparable to the Hundred Years War between England and France.¹² Food shortages struck southern Italy with regularity during Robert's reign, in 1317, 1322, 1328–30, and 1339–40; the crown also had close ties with the Italian banking houses whose collapse weakened both trade and royal finances in much of Europe.¹³ All these problems would intensify dramatically in the reign of Robert's successor, but the fragility generated by rebellion and war, uncertain agricultural production and fiscal pressure, was already the background of Robert's thirty-four years of rule.

Secondly, Robert's complex inheritance enmeshed him in some of the signal shifts in fourteenth-century polity, and in the physical and ideological battles that they involved. He was, for one, drawn into the last great struggles between papacy and empire for control of Italy and for primacy in Christendom as a whole. Robert, like his predecessors, was the pope's vassal in the Regno and his principal ally in central and northern Italy, where pro-papal Guelfs fought with pro-imperial Ghibellines in virtually every town and region. His role as papal and Guelf champion made him variously senator of Rome (1313), lord of Florence (1313–1319), lord of Genoa (1318–34), papal vicar in Romagna (1310–1318) and even, on the pope's authority, vicar general of all “imperial” Italy *vacante imperio*, a title Robert theoretically held from 1317 until his death. He was also, therefore, a major rival of the Holy Roman emperors, who considered not

¹² Aurelio Musi, “Principato citra,” in *Storia del Mezzogiorno*, vol. 5 (Rome, 1986), 252.

¹³ Giuseppe Galasso, *Il Regno di Napoli. Il Mezzogiorno angioino e aragonese (1266–1494)* (Turin, 1992), 822.

only northern Italy but the kingdom too as part of their domain. At the start of Robert's reign and again in the later 1320s, imperial candidates launched campaigns in Italy that menaced Robert's influence in the north, threatened invasion of the kingdom itself, and culminated in the Robert's deposition as a rebel vassal. On a third occasion, in the early 1330s, the would-be emperor John of Bohemia launched a plan that would deprive Robert of his territories in both northern Italy and Provence.

Meanwhile, the conception of polity on which these papal-imperial struggles were based was itself under attack in the fourteenth century, as the notion of a single Christian commonwealth headed by pope or emperor gave way before a new model of multiple, mutually independent national monarchies. Rulers were increasingly intent on denying the overlordship of any universal authority, proclaiming themselves "emperors in their own realms" and "kings who are beneath no one," and simultaneously working to consolidate their borders and attract the first allegiance of subjects within them. The growing currency of this model had multiple consequences for Robert's status as king. His vassalage to the papacy became a more urgent issue, for in the eyes of critics it made him less than fully king, but as the basis of his legitimate possession of the Regno it was a status difficult to reject. The mosaic nature of his dominion became more problematic, especially as neighbors cast on them a covetous eye: divided by geography, language, and custom, they were not easily consolidated, and less susceptible to the rhetoric of national identity often used to bind subjects to realm and ruler. Angevin policy in Italy, too, became a subject of debate, for while some contemporaries urged him to persist in the Angevins' traditional role as partisan Guelf leader, others called for a united Italian monarchy, with Robert at its head.

Robert's final political challenge was the kind of fragile legitimacy that periodically befell European rulers, and that was particularly troubling in an age known for its social turbulence. It was not only that the Angevins were a relatively new "usurper" dynasty, and that the Sicilian rebellion offered a model to other potentially discontented subjects. Robert's own headship of the dynasty was in doubt, as Dante's comments hinted. In fact, as the third son of King Charles II, he had not been expected to inherit at all. Charles Martel, his eldest brother, was the heir apparent to Naples; thanks to that marriage alliance with the Árpád house he was, by 1292, king as well

of Hungary, inherited through his mother. As for the younger sons, in a byproduct of the ongoing war with Sicily they spent seven years in captivity in Catalonia, political hostages for their father who had been humiliatingly captured in a naval battle in 1284. In 1295, however, Robert's fortunes dramatically changed. Charles Martel died, probably of malaria, in the fall of 1295. By a strict interpretation of primogeniture his son Carobert should have become heir apparent in his place. But as a young child and heir already to Hungary, Carobert was, in the eyes of both King Charles II and Pope Boniface VIII, an unacceptable successor. Thus attention turned to Charles II's second son, Louis—but Louis, having undergone a religious conversion, emerged from captivity in late 1295 to announce his surrender of all earthly power and his intention to become a Franciscan friar, a decision from which neither his father nor the pope could dissuade him. Through these unusual circumstances Robert became heir apparent and eventually king of Naples. But those circumstances, and the existence of the rival claimant Carobert, cast doubt on Robert's legitimate right to the kingdom for the rest of his life.

As if multiple imperial attacks, Robert's ambiguous role in northern Italy, the war with Sicily, the difficulties of ruling his dispersed territories, and his questionable status as king were not enough to keep him occupied, he was simultaneously involved in some of the major religious and cultural developments of his half-century. He became personally involved in the greatest theological controversy of his time, which debated whether Christ and the apostles should be considered to have possessed nothing. Apostolic poverty was a founding ideal of the Franciscan Order; to deny its orthodoxy would, and did, cast many members of this most beloved religious order into heresy. The debate, which raged from 1322 to 1324, riveted the attention not only of Europe's ecclesiastical community, but of secular rulers as well. Robert was one of those observers who participated actively in the debate, composing and submitting to the pope a theological treatise of his own; in later years he was suspected of harboring Franciscan heretics in his kingdom and even in his royal court. The issue had clear political implications, for protection of heretics was tantamount to defiance of Robert's papal overlord, and by the later 1320s those same heretics were allied with the pope's great rival, Ludwig of Bavaria. From a more strictly cultural vantage, Robert's evident interest in theological matters and his sus-

pected support for a thirteenth-century ideal now under attack suggest his association with a traditional, even backward-looking brand of scholastic theology. At the same time, however, Robert became associated with some of the greatest figures of Trecento humanism and art, for as scholars have often noted, Boccaccio spent many years of his youth in Naples, Giotto painted several works for the king, and Petrarch, as we have seen, made a famous visit Robert's court in 1341. If the fourteenth century was an age marked by contestation between Scholastic theology and burgeoning humanism as between rival conceptions of European polity, Robert was at the crossroads of both.

In short, Robert's reign emerges as a kind of mirror of his age, in which the responses of rulership to a shifting political and cultural context can be glimpsed. Yet his rule has been surprisingly little studied, and rarely figures in general or comparative studies of the period. In part this neglect stems from a general perception of the stagnation and insignificance of the fourteenth-century kingdom. A brief survey of fourteenth-century Europe concludes that southern Italy in this period "was sinking into the poverty and lawlessness that have characterized in modern times."¹⁴ Alan Ryder's study of fifteenth-century rulership in the kingdom paints a similar picture. Already in the early fourteenth century, "the stresses that were to bring political and social anarchy in the following hundred years lay close to the surface;" only with the arrival in 1442 of Alfonso the Magnanimous, first Aragonese ruler of southern Italy, did the region revitalize through "a thorough reformation of the state."¹⁵ Thus if Alfonso's Naples was "one of the first, perhaps *the* first, of European states to exhibit many of those characteristics that historians have labeled 'modern,'" it was in marked and conscious contrast to the preceding Angevin rulers who "were driven, either in consequence or in fear of baronial rebellion, to emasculate the royal administration."¹⁶ A review of Ryder's monograph stated the point more succinctly: "It had better be admitted that after the great days of the

¹⁴ Lerner, *Age of Adversity*, 70.

¹⁵ Alan Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples Under Alfonso the Magnanimous. The Making of a Modern State* (Oxford, 1976), 16–17.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, preface and 365.

Emperor Frederick II [d. 1250] nobody, whether in Italy or elsewhere, looked to Naples for inspiration in politics or administration.”¹⁷

A more concrete reason for this neglect, at least since the Second World War, is the paucity of surviving documentation. The entire government archive of the Angevin dynasty’s administration was destroyed during the German retreat from Naples in 1943. A team of researchers has been working since 1948 to reconstruct the contents of these archives from the published references and private notes of prewar scholars, but the task is arduous and slow: to date the project has reached the year 1293, sixteen years before Robert’s accession, and it may well be a generation or two before they reach, and cover, the thirty-four years of his reign.¹⁸ These circumstances go far in explaining the slow progress of scholarship on Robert. No substantial overview of his reign has appeared in English since the late nineteenth century.¹⁹ Even in foreign languages there exists but a single monograph devoted to his reign: Romolo Caggese’s *Roberto d’Angiò e i suoi tempi*, published in two volumes of 1922 and 1930 respectively.²⁰ Postwar surveys, such as Émile Léonard’s four-generation study of *Les Angevins de Naples* and the chapters on the Angevins published in the series *Storia di Napoli*, have perforce relied heavily on prewar research, and have tended to rehearse the general interpretive outlines set by earlier scholars.²¹

Those interpretations have generally ranged from ambivalent to negative, and reinforce the general disinterest in further exploration of the reign. To Romolo Caggese, Robert’s politics were “often con-

¹⁷ H.G. Koenigsburger, review of *The Kingdom of Naples*, by Alan Ryder, *Journal of Modern History* 50, 4 (1978), 762–64.

¹⁸ On the destruction of these archives, known as the Angevin registers, see the 1945 report of Riccardo Filangieri, then superintendent of the Archivio di Stato di Napoli, recently reprinted in Stefano Palmieri, ed., *L’Archivio di Stato di Napoli durante la seconda guerra mondiale* (Naples, 1996). Dr. Palmieri, who is overseeing the reconstruction of the registers, provides a report on its progress in “La ricostruzione dei registri della cancelleria angioina: II,” in *Atti dell’Accademia Pontiana* (Naples, 1997).

¹⁹ Welbore St.-Clair Baddeley, *Robert the Wise and His Heirs* (London, 1897). A brief recent account is found in David Abulafia’s chapter on Robert in *The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms, 1200–1500. The Struggle for Dominion* (London and New York, 1997).

²⁰ This work, published in Florence, reflects the strong nationalist currents of 1920s Italy, but its heavy reliance on now-lost archival documentation makes it a still invaluable source.

²¹ Émile Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples* (Paris, 1954). In the series *Storia di Napoli*, see the articles on Angevin politics, culture, religion, and other topics that appear in volume 3 (Naples, 1969) and volume 4 (Naples, 1974).

tradictory and always uncertain,” lacking any coherent policy either for his eastern Mediterranean lands or for Italy itself. Nor was his internal governance of the realm much better: “the actions of the crown were weak, uncertain, and inequitable. . . . the State was a man not equal to the task and a set of incapable or corrupt functionaries.”²² As for the king’s cultural involvements, his own talents “never rose above the limits of mediocrity,” while his patronage of scholars was as haphazard as his politics: “contradictory” and “superficially eclectic” are the conclusions of two cultural historians of his reign.²³

To a surprising degree, these conclusions echo the interpretive categories of Robert’s own contemporaries. Did Robert hew to the traditional Angevin role as champion of the Church and its Guelf supporters in Italy against imperial-Ghibelline enemies, or did he aspire to dominate the whole peninsula and forge a united national monarchy along the lines of an England or a France? Robert’s contemporaries generally expected him to follow one or the other policy, and modern historians, too, have tended to see these as his only political options. Some stress his longtime alliance with the papacy and loyal Guelf partisanship; others place emphasis on his aspirations to rule a united Italy.²⁴ Similarly, the critiques of Dante and others, who deemed Robert’s preaching idle and indeed harmful to his practical ruling responsibilities, have lived on in scholarly tendencies to dismiss the king’s culture as mediocre and irrelevant to the substantive issues of his reign. The distinction between “medieval” and “Renaissance” culture owes less to fourteenth-century categories than to those of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but it too still divides students of Robert’s patronage and cultural milieu. Whatever

²² Romolo Caggese, *Roberto d’Angiò e i suoi tempi*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1922–1930), 1: xvi, 235, 329.

²³ *Ibid.*, 2: 368; Giovanni Battista Siragusa, *L’ingegno, il sapere, a gli intendimenti di Roberto d’Angiò* (Palermo, 1891), 71–72; Federico Sabatini, “La cultura nell’età angioina,” in *Storia di Napoli*, vol. 4 (Naples, 1974), 70–71.

²⁴ Those who view Guelf-papal loyalism (and hence opposition to the Empire) as Robert’s only viable policy include Edouard Jordan, *Les origines de la domination angevine en Italie* (Paris, 1909), 608, and Gennaro Maria Monti, “La dottrina anti-imperiale degli Angioini di Napoli: I loro vicariati imperiali e Bartolomeo di Capua,” in *Studi in onore di A. Solmi*, vol. 2 (Milan, 1940), 10. Those who view Robert as an aspiring unifier of all Italy include Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*, and Alessandro Barbero, *Il mito angioino nella cultura italiana e provenzale fra Duecento e Trecento* (Turin, 1983).

flaws have emerged in these various categorizations have rarely unseated them. Instead, the onus is often transposed onto Robert himself, whose political and cultural choices are deemed contradictory and patternless.

If we set aside these interpretive categories, however, different perspectives and conclusions emerge. Historians have focused on Robert's partisan Guelf and pan-Italian roles, and been discomfited by the inconsistencies in each, but perhaps his changeability was precisely the point? The impulse to categorize his culture as heretical or humanist has tended to obscure the basic significance of his patronage itself: its quantity, its prominence in his ruling style, its function as an engine of royal propaganda. As for Robert's conspicuous display of personal erudition, surely insufficient attention has been paid to the fact that learning and wisdom were the qualities with which his courtiers and outside observers most regularly identified him, the very leitmotif of his ruling style, and therefore a potentially important index of what some people, at least, considered essential to right rulership.

These possibilities can be explored by approaching the king from a fresh vantage: not as an isolated actor, that is, but in the context of his court, paying serious attention to the individuals who attended, advised, and served the king, to their careers and opinions, and to the texts and works of art they produced in Angevin service. Their witness is crucial to assessing Robert's religious and cultural strategies, for it was largely through his patronage of particular men that the king made his own preferences known. Further, the careers and writings of these men offer considerable insight into Angevin political strategy. Some were virtual co-architects of policy; others drafted the legal theory on which Angevin dominion rested, or composed political tracts that explained (or explained away) royal actions. Taken together, such texts indicate the dominant ideas circulating at court. Finally, these courtiers were the main authors of that royal propaganda that shaped and disseminated Robert's royal image—an image that is crucial for apprehending their concept of ideal kingship, and that affected contemporary observers' reception as much as did the king's actions themselves. The principal vehicles for propagating that image were sermons, painting, and sculpture, but contributing as well were academic disputations and polemical treatises that defended Robert's dominion, attacked his enemies, and exalted the special virtues of his rule. The line between theory and propaganda was

still blurry in the fourteenth century, and many of these works hovered on the border.²⁵

One of the prime architects of royal strategy and image was, of course, Robert himself. His concrete actions in administration, justice, war, and diplomacy are basic to any study of his reign, and despite the loss of his government archives much information can be gleaned from the works of prewar scholars. Camillo Minieri-Riccio's lengthy "Genealogy of Charles II," serialized in two volumes of a prominent southern Italian journal in the 1880s, is actually a month-by-month chronicle of Robert's reign based entirely on the royal archives; Caggese's monograph, for all its tendentious arguments, offers a wealth of detail culled from these registers. Just as crucial, and until recently almost completely overlooked, is the evidence offered by Robert's preaching. The hundreds of sermons Robert composed make his preaching one of the most remarkable aspects of his rule, and make the king himself as much an architect of the royal image as any of his learned supporters. Recent analyses of Robert's preaching by Jean-Paul Boyer and Darleen Pryds have indicated what a rich historical source these sermons are, and with less than a dozen of them edited, the extant manuscripts offer much further material to be mined.²⁶ When Robert's documented actions are set beside the commentary that both he and his supporters produced, a much fuller picture of the details and overall direction of royal policy emerges.

While the evidence of king and court together brings into focus the strategies and imagery promoted in his reign, the evidence of

²⁵ On the blurring between genres in this period see Jacques Verger, "Théorie politique et propaganda politique," in *Le forme della propaganda nel Due e Trecento* (Rome, 1994), 29–30.

²⁶ Robert's sermons have been cataloged twice, by Walter Goetz and by Johannes-Baptist Schneyer (see Chapter 3, at n. 3), but both catalogs contain errors, and no more accurate catalog has been undertaken. The total number of sermons has most recently been set by Jean-Paul Boyer at 266: see "Prédication et État napolitain dans la première moitié du XIV^e siècle," in *L'État angevin. Pouvoir, culture, et société entre XIII^e et XIV^e siècle* (Rome, 1998), 131. Boyer has edited two of the king's sermons: one in "Ecce rex tuus: le roi et le royaume dans les sermons de Robert de Naples," *Revue Mabillon*, n.s., 6 (1995), 101–36, another in "Une théologie du droit. Les sermons juridiques du roi Robert de Naples et de Barthélemy de Capoue," in *Saint-Denis et la royauté. Études offertes à Bernard Guenée*, ed. François Autrand et al. (Paris, 1999), 658–59. Darleen Pryds also edits one sermon in *The King Embodies the Word. Robert d'Anjou and the Politics of Preaching* (Leiden, 2000); editions of five other complete sermons are listed by Pryds at 126n.

observers outside the court allows some evaluation of those strategies' diffusion and effect. The "symbolology of power" is a rich and much-tilled field of historical research, and that symbolism is itself a significant feature of Europe's intellectual history, but only the reception of that symbolism, as scholars increasingly stress, can gauge its concrete influence as an instrument of rule. "The language and tone of many discussions of royal imagery," Sydney Anglo has observed, "assume the very things that ought to be proved" regarding audiences' acceptance of princely ideology, and hence overlook the possibility, surely of equal historical significance, of such imagery's limitations and failures.²⁷ Alain Boureau, similarly, has cautioned against assuming "a very naïve reception" and "immediate credulity" on the part of audiences of royal ceremony.²⁸ Indeed, contemporary observers are not only an important witness to the reception of different royal strategies and propagandistic themes. They were also, if indirectly, shapers of those strategies and themes. Governance did and does take place in the context of prevailing expectations of leadership and of the support that influential groups offer or withhold: that context is one side of a dialogue whose other is the royal court. We may term that context "public opinion" if we accept that the public who counted, in an age before general enfranchisement, was largely limited to a feudal and urban aristocracy, foreign potentates, and the literate men who served and informed them. With regard to norms and ideals of rulership, that wider opinion represents another key arena in which to chart processes of continuity and change.

The opinions of even this more limited group of contemporaries are often elusive, but taken together, scattered sources can help to gauge the wider reception of Robert's policies and propaganda. A chief source is chronicles, of which Italy produced several in the early fourteenth century. Useful too are popular ballads, the correspondence of foreign diplomats, the occasional letters of learned men. On occasion Robert's own supporters remarked upon popular criticisms of the king in their attempt to refute them, thus providing unwitting insight on opinions outside the court. "Silent" evidence is sometimes eloquent as well. The degree to which dynastic saints were

²⁷ Sydney Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship* (London, 1992), 1–4; cited in Trevor Dean, "The Courts," 148.

²⁸ Alain Boureau, *Le simple corps du roi* (Paris, 1988), 41.

embraced or ignored by subjects can be a telling index of the popularity of the saints' royal promoters, for instance, as Katherine Jansen has demonstrated.²⁹ Where the royal court tried and abandoned various strategies, or where it proved reticent regarding a royal virtue the king himself sought to promote, we can find subtle indices of a strategy's limited success. In short, the larger audience surrounding the nucleus of king and court was an active element in the dynamic and often experimental process of constructing royal policy and image.

All told, the absence of complete archival documentation, while a great loss, has had the compensating benefit of encouraging greater appreciation of alternative source materials, and of the different methodological approaches and fresh perspectives they offer. Highlighting the interrelations between abstract intellectual constructs and concrete political circumstance, and between king, court, and wider audience, they offer an integrated and interdisciplinary approach to the venerable and still indispensable study of rulership. A number of Angevin studies in the last decade or so have explored these possibilities, resulting in important aperçus regarding the composition of Robert's chapel and wider entourage, the political implications of certain texts and works of art, and the response of contemporaries to Angevin rulership.³⁰ The present study proceeds down these paths, assembling the literary, artistic, diplomatic and, where recoverable, archival sources on Robert's reign to hazard a larger reinterpretation of its basic character, and of what it may reveal about the nature of rulership in a transitional and still elusive age.

Indeed, if we return to the opinions of Dante and Petrarch it is possible to detect some transition even within the half-century when Robert ruled. The criticism of Dante and other hostile commentators pools largely in the 1310s and 1320s. The last years of Robert's reign and the years following his death witnessed, instead, the effusive praise of Petrarch—the most famous of Robert's admirers but one joined by a number of equally idealized comments on his rule. Even

²⁹ Katharine Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen. Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2000), 315–317.

³⁰ See, for instance, the articles collected in *L'État angevin. Pouvoir, culture et société entre XIII^e et XIV^e siècle* (Rome, 1998), the product of an important conference held in Rome and Naples in 1995 and a convenient overview of recent scholarship in the field.

accounting for the influence of reflexive nostalgia, it would appear that those unusual aspects of Robert's ruling style that had perplexed early observers came to be accepted as proper to effective and admirable rule. With them we may be witnessing, even before the midcentury watershed of the Black Death, a significant shift in both the strategies of rulership and the wider *Weltanschauung* that welcomed them.

In keeping with the Angevin historiographical tradition that clusters around certain issues, and reflecting the image-making so central to Robert's and his court's activity, the following chapters treat different aspects of the reign under the headings of Robert's various vaunted virtues. Chapter Two, "Patronage," opens the main body of this study with an analysis of Robert's court and culture. It assembles the evidence for Robert's patronage of artists and learned men, supplementing it with information on his royal library to provide a fuller sense of the king's cultural interests. It then traces the connections between royal patronage and the royal court. Some clients had little or no connection to the royal entourage; others were fully integrated into the royal administration and household. A significant number, linked less formally to the king's entourage, testify to the fluid boundaries of the court and its functioning within a larger network of *studia* and ecclesiastical positions within the realm. As a cultural haven sought after by learned men seeking patronage, Robert's court was more than a coterie of high-ranking noble officers, but not yet a distinct social entity, and its patterns may serve as a case study in the development of that elusive and much-debated institution, the princely court. In terms of Robert's reign itself, the evidence compiled here permits a reevaluation of the theory that Robert's court milieu transformed mid-reign toward a more humanistic and secular-national orientation. Finally, the chapter frames these topics within the larger context of Robert's royal image, assessing how patronage contributed directly and indirectly to burnishing his reputation.

Chapter Three, "Piety," investigates the king's religious affiliations and the image of piety and sacrality he sought to purvey. Religious issues have assumed a particular importance in assessments of Robert's reign due to a widespread assumption of his sympathy for the heretical wing of the Franciscan Order. By reevaluating the evidence of such sympathies, and situating it in the context of his patronage of religious men generally, the chapter demonstrates the essentially orthodox nature of Robert's religious affiliations. Far from radical reli-

gious idealism, Robert's piety was geared to classic royal ends: consolidating relations with various religious orders and institutions, and building support for himself and his dynasty through a reputation for piety and holiness. Robert's vassalage to the papacy became one source of this sacral image. Though derided by some contemporaries as an abject status incommensurate with true monarchy, vassalage was cast by Robert's supporters as a sign of his superiority, indicating his greater proximity to the ultimate authority of God. Meanwhile, the court stressed as well a second source of sacrality independent of papal lordship: the saintly lineage that confirmed the inherent holiness of his blood. These strategies existed in tension with each other, and reflected the ambivalent relations between king and pope, but in their separate ways they contributed to his image as a ruler legitimated by God. Judging by the evidence of saints' cults, the notion of this new dynasty's preeminent holiness was accepted by southern-Italian barons, Provençal subjects, and even central-Italian allies, though the general populace of the kingdom proved slower in embracing it. The strategy was also popular with other European dynasties, where the notion of *beata stirps* flourished, in part through Angevin influence, ever more profusely as the fourteenth century wore on. Here, in short, was a traditional ruling strategy, though one creatively adapted to Robert's particular circumstances and reflective of a subtle permutation evident in the fourteenth-century dynastic legitimation as a whole.

Chapter Four analyzes a second classic virtue through which Robert sought to attract subjects' reverence and allegiance: justice. In keeping with the broad medieval conception of this virtue, the chapter analyzes various features of Robert's internal governance of his realm (judicial, administrative, economic) in light of the crown's all-important relations with the nobility and towns. Scholarly opinion on his governance is much divided, and colored by historians' interest in determining when, and why, a kingdom once among the most powerful and innovative of Europe eventually fell so low. To some Robert was too dependent on the landed nobility, to some not dependent enough; his economic initiatives have been both praised and condemned, and the effectiveness of his reform measures much debated. On balance, however, the evidence points to the state's conscientious efforts to effect just rule and to counteract some of the more deleterious developments of the fourteenth century—especially regarding the famed unruliness of southern-Italian barons—in order to preserve royal authority. That social and economic tensions were

simmering in the kingdom is evident, but through constant vigilance, a negotiatory rather than high-handed manner, and a careful balancing between different social groups, Robert succeeded in containing centrifugal energies and in attracting a considerable degree of allegiance from various influential groups. His own sermons on justice or related themes confirm this characterization of his internal policy, and were themselves part of his persuasive and negotiatory approach. Contemporary opinion about his justice, however, appears ambivalent. Subjects were, on the whole, quite loyal to the crown, but they did not single out the king's justice as a prominent ruling virtue. Indeed, commentators often embraced the king's son and vicar as the symbol of royal justice, while reserving to Robert a more mixed image, miserly but merciful. All told, this reception suggests not rejection of Robert's rule, but some uncertainty about his manner, and about the particular ways with which he responded to an age itself uncertain and troubling. When compared with the policies of his successor and their disastrous results, however, the skillfulness and overall effectiveness of Robert's approach emerge in high relief, as indeed they did to contemporaries who lived long enough to experience a later reign.

Delegation of internal governance was one of the traits that appears to have met with subjects' diffidence, and it is true that much of the king's attention was devoted to those peninsular politics north of the Regno's borders that were vital to the safety and wellbeing of his own directly-ruled lands. Chapter Five, "Prudence," analyzes Robert's political strategies in Italy, with respect both to the Holy Roman Empire and to individual Italian city-states. Neither staunch Guelf champion nor aspiring national monarch, Robert was consistent only in the flexibility of his policy. Exploiting the benefits of vigorous anti-imperial rhetoric, he also explored the possibilities of collaboration with the empire; while reaping the rewards of his Guelf role in Romagna, Piedmont, and Tuscany, he was as likely to abandon Guelf allies to protect his own interests. Such behavior outraged contemporaries, and has perplexed some modern observers too. It was his very divergence from expected categories, however, that constitutes the logic and the novelty of his political approach. Unfettered by ideological loyalties, more parsimonious than munificent, and ever preferring diplomacy and patient watchfulness over military engagement, Robert exemplified the kind of malleable, self-interested pragmatism most associated with the age of Machiavelli. Indeed, while

he adopted various personae to present his recent actions in the most favorable light, his one governing principle, as expressed to his court and to some foreign audiences as well, was prudence: a judicious reflectiveness, based on realistic assessment of circumstance, that would come to be championed by theoreticians and princes of the early-modern period. Perhaps his greatest novelty lay in his consistent embrace of this policy, which even his own courtiers seemed to find difficult to grasp.

Patronage, sacral piety, justice, and prudence all contributed in varying degrees to Robert's royal image, but the quality with which Robert was most frequently and closely associated was wisdom. Chapter Six focuses on the development of this crowning element of his royal persona, investigating the ways wisdom was invoked in text and image, the meanings attached to it, and its relation both to Robert's other proclaimed virtues and to the concrete actions understood to exemplify it. Founded on centuries of tradition, yet with a particular formulation and emphasis that had developed only in the decades immediately preceding Robert's reign, royal wisdom emerges as an apt virtue to sum up Robert's rule, one that reflected the balance of tradition and innovation in his ruling style as a whole. Further, contemporaries' reactions to it suggest a subtle change in general opinions regarding proper and effective governance. To Dante and others, such pious intellectualism was unsuitable in a king: Robert was passive, effeminate, fit only for the cloister, detached from the practical issues with which a ruler should be concerned. Such criticism reflects a certain novelty in Robert's ruling image and invites speculation on his reasons for adopting it, one of which may have been the legitimacy it promised in the face of a rival claimant to his throne. Such criticism, however, was matched and eventually drowned out by a chorus of praise for Robert's wisdom: if the justice or prudence of his rule remained somewhat baffling to contemporaries, the wisdom that summed up his rule as a whole was, in the end, an image that contemporaries could embrace as comprehensible, acceptable, and ultimately ideal.

Furthermore, as the conclusion proposes, learned wisdom may represent a defining characteristic of European rulership more generally in the fourteenth century. Certainly it became an ever more prominent ruling ideal as the century wore on. It is most conspicuous in the reign of Charles V of France, whose ruling style and image bear such close resemblance to Robert's. It is prominent as

well in the royal persona of Charles IV of Bohemia, Robert's slightly younger contemporary and uncle of Charles V. And echoes of it are perceptible in the ruling image and strategies of Richard II of England, though here on the threshold of the fifteenth century wisdom's sacral and theological qualities were already giving way to the more practical orientation of prudence. Meanwhile the memory of Robert himself, lauded by several northern-Italian humanists as a model for their own princely patrons, was undergoing a similar transformation at the turn of the fifteenth century, as his sacral wisdom was gradually replaced by an image of him as mighty, pragmatic, and a patron of more profane forms of learning. The legacy of Robert's ruling image provides eloquent testimony to the changing ideals and expectations of rulership from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century.

The southern Italian philosopher and historian Benedetto Croce observed a century ago that historians' neglect of southern Italy had much to do with the region's failure to become a modern nation state.³¹ The growing importance of super- and subnational forces over the last hundred years has situated us well to overcome this blind spot. As another historian of the region has observed, the ultimate fate of a polity is no reliable measure of its ruler's historical importance, much less a sure yardstick of his influence in his own age.³² Nor should the undeniable travails of the kingdom under Robert's successor be read back onto his reign.

If anything, the later misfortunes of the kingdom illustrate precisely what was significant about Robert's rule. In the context of the fourteenth century, in the face of destructive forces, natural and man-made, that would undo his successor, Robert implemented an approach to rulership that not only preserved his realm and glorified his memory but that in many ways appears emblematic of the age. That approach was informed by a marked tendency to negotiation, persuasion, and flexibility in the face of volatile subjects and foreign groups, and placed a heavy emphasis on image-making that may well relate to the difficulties of undertaking decisive and prestigious military action. Indeed, one of the remarkable facts about Robert is that his rule lacked any classic "great deeds" of crusade, conquest,

³¹ Benedetto Croce, *History of the Kingdom of Naples*, trans. F. Frenaye (Chicago, 1970), 13.

³² Ryder, *Kingdom of Naples*, 365–66.

or even major internal reform, and yet he was hailed by many contemporaries and later admirers as an ideal king. The symbol and shorthand of his ideal rule was wisdom, a ruling virtue that, like the fourteenth century itself, encompassed opposed tendencies, but that vested them with an aspect of harmony. Like Thomas Aquinas' analogous synthesis of grace and nature, that harmony was short-lived. But for a roughly century-long span when the relations between earthly and divine knowledge and between secular and spiritual power were contested, when the crucible of famine, plague, and war affected virtually every area of life and the future of European polity was anything but certain, wisdom appeared to many as the age's best hope of right rulership and peace. How that ruling style and image were constructed—by whom, under what pressures, against which criticisms and with what materials—is the story of the following pages.

CHAPTER TWO

PATRONAGE

When Augustus was master of the world, Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, still famous in our times, and many others unknown, had free time and means for leisure activities because of his liberal generosity. . . . Near our own time King Robert encouraged doctors, theologians, poets, and orators with prolific honors and abundant largesse. All in the world who sought the rewards of the study of letters poured into his kingdom, and not in vain, for it lay open as a sacred domicile of scholars.

—Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna, 1404

As Jacob Burckhardt famously described the Italian Renaissance state as a “work of art,” so rulership might be likened to theater: each reign a narrative of events and of commentary on those events that acquired a particular character and left a particular impression on its audience of subjects and foreign observers. In that case it was certainly an ensemble production. The king was its protagonist, and by convention we often attribute to him responsibility for governing decisions and the general character of the reign. But in fact he operated within an entourage of advisors, familiars, and clients who collaborated in shaping the story in numerous ways. Some influenced policy in their role as high-ranking officials; others executed policy as ambassadors or provincial representatives, and served as a public face of the crown. Some composed legal, religious, and political treatises that adumbrated royal rights, clarified royal preferences, and justified (or denied) royal actions: like a Greek chorus they aided the audience in interpreting the basic narrative of rule. This function of shaping interpretation is the defining quality of propaganda, which many supporters produced in a more explicit form in sermons, paintings, songs and other media that disseminated an ideal image of the king. The men who played these supporting roles did not work invisibly, behind the scenes: they were on the stage, so to speak, and their association with the king was part of the narrative of his rule.

The means by which this cast of supporting characters was assembled can be termed patronage. On the one hand it was the foun-

dation of all other aspects of Robert's policy and image, precisely because it gathered together those men who would contribute to developing them. On the other hand, patronage was a feature of his rule in its own right: extending to many of the most distinguished scholars and artists of the age, it became itself part of his ruling reputation. Perhaps because of the many luminaries it embraced, Robert's patronage has often been discussed as a narrowly cultural phenomenon, or rather an epiphenomenon unconnected to the substantive political issues of his reign. In the series *Storia di Napoli*, Angevin politics and Angevin culture are treated by different authors in separate chapters; in the eleven hundred pages of Romolo Caggese's study, which remains the only monograph devoted wholly to Robert's rule, less than thirty pages are devoted to cultural patronage and the court, as part of a final chapter significantly entitled "the sunset of the king."¹ Moreover, royal patronage in the larger institutional sense, as the means by which the royal household and administration were staffed, has received only the most scant attention. The nature of the royal court under Robert—its composition, socio-cultural character, and relation to other institutions and constituent social groups—is virtually terra incognita.²

By approaching Robert's patronage as an integral part of his ruling activity and tracking as closely as possible its recipients and framework, it is possible to answer some central questions about his reign and its place in larger trends of European rulership. The first question, or at least the one that has dominated scholarship to date, regards the king's basic cultural orientation in the age of early Italian humanism. Though generally divorced from substantive political analysis, the question has colored (or perhaps reflected) assumptions about his reign as a whole. Thus to those who identify Robert's tastes as traditionally medieval, he was a "pure Scholastic, a living

¹ Carlo de Frede covers Angevin political history in "Da Carlo I d'Angiò a Giovanna I," in *Storia di Napoli*, vol. 3 (Naples, 1969), while F. Sabatini covers cultural history in "La cultura nell'età angioina," in *ibid.*, vol. 4 (Naples, 1974). Romolo Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò e i suoi tempi*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1922–1930), treats culture and the court in vol. 2, 363–392.

² For a recent discussion of the cultural aspect of the court and urgent need for further study of it, see Isabelle Heullant-Donat, "Quelques reflexions autour de la cour angevine comme milieu culturel au XIV^e siècle," in *L'État angevin. Pouvoir, culture, et société entre XIII^e et XIV^e siècle* (Rome, 1998), 173–191. On the court's socio-political character, see below at Chapter Four.

warehouse of phrases, sentences, and facts” without any “true sense of artistry;” his own culture “never rose above the limits of mediocrity,” while the general environment he sponsored in Naples was culturally “backward”.³ Others, however, identify Robert as a notable early patron of Renaissance culture: his reign ushered in “a true and proper pre-humanism in southern Italy, or better a humanism with all its formal characteristics already defined.”⁴ Those who perceive a humanist bent in Robert’s patronage naturally associate it with innovation rather than backwardness, and hence tend to emphasize it more. Indeed, one of the few scholars to link Robert’s cultural and political activities interprets his humanist turn as a signal of his larger political reorientation: as Robert embraced humanist culture so he embraced a presciently secular Italian politics, independent of “medieval” overlordship by the papacy or other foreign powers.⁵ By mapping Robert’s cultural patronage more fully rather than concentrating on a few individuals, it is possible to determine more confidently the major cultural interests of king and court. Those interests turn out to be quite solidly traditional, and help explain the more specific religious and political positions to be discussed in later chapters: there was less “oscillation” and “contradiction” in the court environment than is often supposed.⁶ At the same time, that traditional court culture earned high praise from the man often celebrated as the very founder of humanism, Petrarch. In this sense Robert’s court appears quite characteristic of the transitional fourteenth century, before the notion (one might say myth) of opposition between a “backward” medieval culture and a humanist rebirth—a notion Petrarch himself would do much to foster—had taken hold.

Equally important as the medieval or humanist character of Robert’s cultural involvements is simply their quantity. Robert took a keen personal interest in the collection of manuscripts, and assiduously cultivated scholars and artists of the highest reputation. This conspicuous support for learning and the arts bespeaks Robert’s con-

³ Giovanni Battista Siragusa, *L’ingegno, il sapere, e gli intendimenti di Roberto d’Angiò* (Palermo, 1891), 79; Caggese, *Roberto d’Angiò*, 2: 368; Sabatini, “La cultura,” 73.

⁴ Antonio Altamura, *La letteratura dell’età angioina. Tradizione medievale e premesse umanistiche* (Naples, 1952), 17.

⁵ Alessandro Barbero, *Il mito angioino nella cultura italiana e provenzale fra Duecento e Trecento* (Turin, 1983), 153–154.

⁶ Such conclusions are put forth by Siragusa, *L’ingegno*, 71–72, and Sabatini, “La cultura,” 70–71.

ception of what was required of an ideal king. It reveals as well what he considered necessary for effective rule. For patronage produced propaganda: in thanks for royal largesse or in the hopes of obtaining it, scholars and artists flattered, exalted, and defended the king. The quantity of propaganda issuing from Robert's court has been noted by more than one modern scholar, and was greatly supplemented by the king's efforts to publicize for himself, through his hundreds of sermons and handful of treatises. The energy devoted to cultural patronage and publicity—relative, for instance, to the performance of illustrious deeds—is an issue that merits more study, not only for grasping the character of Robert's rule but for tracing the subtle transformations of governing practice in a longer perspective.

If patronage was a measure of cultural interests and an engine of royal publicity, it was also, most concretely, a series of relationships inscribed within and around the royal court. Did famous scholars and artists become permanent members of the royal entourage, travel there as one stop in an itinerant career, or have only brief and distant connections to the court through individual commissions? Through what government bureaux could talented men rise, and what kinds of talents were most favored? Was the royal court the unique center of patronage in Naples, or did it overlap in a larger and looser network with other institutions—the university, religious *studia*, high ecclesiastical offices? Such questions can reveal the character of the royal court as a cultural center and as a functioning governmental body, a subject that has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention for the early modern period. In the wake of Norbert Elias' influential *Court Society*, the princely court has been analyzed as a distinct entity guided by arcane rules of precedence and etiquette; as a closed world that, in conjunction with increasingly elaborate rituals and ceremonies, magnified the prince's majesty and distance from subjects; and as a means of domesticating a provincial nobility constrained to participate in and be watched over at court.⁷ Culturally distinguished courts certainly existed in the medieval as in the early modern period, and as a growing body of scholarship demonstrates, they generated some similar conceptions of the court as a distinct environment and

⁷ Norbert Elias, *The Court Society* (New York, 1983). For further literature see below, n. 107 and ff.

even of the courtier as a particular role. By anchoring Robert's cultural patronage in the individual itineraries and institutional contexts that informed it, we can trace how a royal court that was also a celebrated cultural center functioned on the eve of the Renaissance. In the process we will gain acquaintance with those individuals whose careers and writings will figure prominently in following chapters as indispensable witnesses to royal policy and image.

The Patron-Prince

One conspicuous manifestation of Robert's cultural patronage was his acquisition, through commission, collection, or receipt, of learned texts and works of art. Greatly expanding a foundation laid by his father and grandfather, Robert built up a royal library that was perhaps the finest in Europe in its time, and that serves as a good index of his primary interests.⁸ In 1335 alone he purchased nine scientific works: six general medical texts, one specifically on surgery, another on physics, and yet another on "the science of perspective."⁹ A Roman history, a history of Robert Guiscard, and a set of tables illustrating the history of the world were all acquired in 1332.¹⁰ So was a fourth and very rare historical text: Livy's *De bello Macedonico*, the fourth decade in his *Ab urbe condita libri*.¹¹ Six juridical texts—glosses on the Decretum or decretals—were purchased for the king's use in 1335; the next year Robert paid the enormous sum of sixty gold ounces, or about forty times the annual salary of a royal scribe,

⁸ Two summaries of select Angevin registers provide the bulk of available information on the acquisitions of the royal library: N. Barone's *La 'Ratio Thesauriorum' della cancelleria angioina* (Naples, 1885) and Camillo Minieri-Riccio's "Genealogia di Carlo II d'Angiò, re di Napoli," *ASP* 7 (1882), 15–67, 201–262, 465–496, 653–684, and *ASP* 8 (1883), 5–33, 197–226, 381–396, 587–600. The information related to library acquisitions found in these two works is summarized in Cornelia Coulter, "The Library of the Angevin Kings of Naples," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 75 (1944), 141–55, who notes the library's much greater growth under Robert. Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, vol. 2, adds some additional information culled from his own perusal of the archives before their destruction.

⁹ Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASP* 8 (1883), 23–24.

¹⁰ Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 2: 370, and Coulter, "The Library," 148.

¹¹ The acquisition of this text was noted in the Angevin records in 1332: see Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASP* 7 (1883), 683. For more on this unusual acquisition see below, at nn. 85–87.

for a copy of the *Corpus iuris civilis*, and in 1337 he acquired a commentary on the *Codex* by the celebrated Tuscan jurist Cino da Pistoia.¹² Most numerous were the religious texts Robert collected. They included various books of the Bible and a number of biblical commentaries, Gregory's *Moralia*, Boethius' *De Trinitate*, a book on the rosary perhaps intended for private devotions, a life of "Saint Maximus" translated from the Greek, and Saint Augustine's *De spiritu et anima*, among others.¹³ A curious acquisition falling outside all these categories was the account of Marco Polo's travels in Asia, known as the *De mirabilibus magni canis* or simply the *Milione*, which Robert acquired in 1336.¹⁴

While the contents of the royal library are not a certain indicator of Robert's own interests—some codices are known to have been commissioned as gifts for Robert's son, for instance, and custodians of the royal library may have been responsible for other acquisitions¹⁵—Robert took an active role in obtaining many works. At the very start of his reign, perhaps as a result of meeting Giles of Rome in Avignon in 1309, Robert ordered a copy of Giles' famous *De regimine principum*, which his chaplain completed "for the king's use" the following year.¹⁶ A few years later, Robert was eager to obtain a "beautiful copy of Avicenna" that had once belonged to his physician, and that he believed had ended up in Provence. In 1315 he asked the archbishop of Marseilles to find the text and buy it at the

¹² The six juridical glosses bought in 1335 are listed in Barone, '*Ratio Thesaurariorum*,' 95–96. On the acquisition of the *Corpus iuris civilis*, see Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 2: 372, and Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASPN* 8 (1883), 29. Coulter notes that the scribe Johannes of Ypres received a monthly salary of 4 tari in 1313, or roughly an ounce and a half a year. (One ounce was the equivalent of thirty tari.) See "The Library," 141, 146.

¹³ All listed in Coulter, "The Library," 147–48, except the Greek saint's life, mentioned by Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 2: 372, and Augustine's treatises, cited in Barone, '*Ratio Thesaurariorum*,' 96.

¹⁴ Coulter, "The Library," 152.

¹⁵ A book of hours was illuminated for Charles of Calabria in 1327 (see Coulter, "The Library," 145). A copy of *Li faits des romains* was made for Charles and his wife Marie of Valois, on which see François Avril, "Trois manuscrits napolitains des collections de Charles V and de Jean de Berry," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 127 (1969), 296–98. Coulter attributes much of the library's increase after 1332 to Paolo da Perugia, who was a cleric of the royal chapel and whom Boccaccio later described as the "custodian of the royal library." This opinion is echoed by Heullant-Donat, "Quelques réflexions," 190.

¹⁶ Coulter, "The Library," 147. Such a meeting would explain, as well, Giles' dedication to Robert of part of his *Sentence* commentary.

best price possible, for “I know this book to be good, and consider it useful to me.”¹⁷ In 1334 Robert sent the medical scholar Azzolino da Urbe on a mission to search southern Italy for Greek manuscripts, accompanied by a royal letter ordering all subjects of the realm to aid Azzolino in making copies of whatever works he wished.¹⁸ Even without such personal intervention, in any case, the constant activity of his numerous buyers, scribes, and bookmakers communicated on its own the king’s generous interest in learning, and the fine library they helped to build was one of the attractions of Naples.¹⁹

The texts listed above were largely venerable classics, but Robert also acquired original works and commentaries from learned contemporaries. A world history by the Franciscan friar Paolino da Venezia, a favored client of the king, made its way into Robert’s collection.²⁰ More numerous were the natural scientists he favored, especially medical scholars. Azzolino da Urbe not only collected manuscripts for the king but translated for him Greek medical and astronomical works.²¹ From the celebrated medical scholar Niccolò Deoprepio da Reggio, Robert commissioned translations of several Greek treatises in 1310 and another, Galen’s *Flebotomia*, around 1322.²² He ordered two medical texts—*De virtutibus medicamentorum* and a commentary on Averroës—from Dino del Garbo, whom the Tuscan chronicler Giovanni Villani described as “a very great doctor in physical and natural and philosophical sciences, who in his time was the best and leading medical expert in Italy.”²³ The *Liber cibalis et medi-*

¹⁷ “. . . nos dictum librum bonum esse scientes, et ipsumque nobis utilem reputantes.” Robert sent another letter to his treasurer in Provence authorizing that monies be provided to the archbishop for this purpose. See Caggese, *Roberto d’Angiò*, 2: 372.

¹⁸ The document is cited by Caggese, *Roberto d’Angiò*, 2: 371, who describes Azzolino as Robert’s “official translator from the Greek.”

¹⁹ Heullant-Donat, “Quelques réflexions,” 189.

²⁰ On Paolino’s career and this work in particular, see below at nn. 93, 125.

²¹ Caggese, *Roberto d’Angiò*, 2: 371.

²² On his works in 1310, see Minieri-Riccio, “Genealogia,” *ASP* 7 (1882), 221. On the *Flebotomia*, see Siragusa, *L’ingegno*, 73, and Altamura, *La letteratura*, 40–41.

²³ Giovanni Villani, *Cronica*, Book X, chapter 41: “grandissimo dottore in fisica e in più scienze naturali e filosofiche, il quale al suo tempo fu il migliore e sovrano medico che fosse in Italia, e più nobili libri fece a richiesta e intitolati per lo re Ruberto.” These works are identified in Marc Dykmans, ed., *Robert d’Anjou: La vision bienheureuse. Traité envoyé au pape Jean XXII* (Rome, 1970), 40*, which also cites the dedicatory preface in which Dino notes Robert’s commission of the works “per propriam litteram michi transmissum.”

cinalis, an encyclopedia of Greek, Arabic and Latin terminology on minerals and plants, was dedicated to Robert by the Salernitan medical scholar Matteo Silvatico, who described the king as “shining among the princes of the world in his knowledge of medicine.”²⁴ The Genoese Andalò dal Negro, who resided in Naples from circa 1324 until his death a decade later, furnished the king with astronomical and astrological information.²⁵

Theologians and translators of theological or philosophical texts received at least as much support from the king. Several of these scholars were Jews of Italy and Provence. Calonymus ben Calonymus of Arles, whom Robert met in early 1320s and provided with an annual salary, translated for the king Averroës’ *Destructio destructorum philosophorum*.²⁶ Two Roman Jews, whom Robert may have met during his senatorship of the city in 1313, became his clients as well. Scemeriah Ikriti produced his masterwork, a philosophical commentary on the Bible, under Robert’s auspices, while Jehudah Romano translated Hebrew works for him and wrote a commentary on the pseudo-Aristotelian *Liber de causis*. Amazingly, Jehudah is also credited with having taught the king Hebrew: if true, the king’s interest in biblical scholarship was indeed profound.²⁷ This scholarly interest may explain Robert’s protection of the Jewish communities under his jurisdiction, a notable departure from the policy of his father, who sponsored a forced conversion of southern Italian Jews in the early 1290s. Robert claimed in 1320 that Jews received better treatment in his realm than in any other country of the world.²⁸

²⁴ Matteo Silvatico’s comment—“inter cunctos mundi principes medicinali dogmate prefulget”—is cited in Altamura, *La letteratura*, 42.

²⁵ Sabatini, “La cultura,” 76.

²⁶ Calonymus’ translation of Averroës is now MS Vat. Lat. 2434, dated from Arles 18 April 1328 (see Dykmans, *La vision bienheureuse*, 39*). For this and other translations Calonymus received an annual salary of six ounces a year, paid to him through a royal official in Arles, according to a document of 1329 cited in Caggese, *Roberto d’Angiò*, 2: 371n.

²⁷ On these two figures, see Sabatini, “La cultura,” 76, and Cecil Roth, *The History of the Jews of Italy* (Philadelphia, 1946), 95–96.

²⁸ On Charles II’s and Robert’s different policies toward the Jews see Joshua Starr, “The Mass Conversion of Jews in Southern Italy, 1290–1293,” *Speculum* 21 (1946), 203–211; Caggese, *Roberto d’Angiò*, 1: 304–309; and most recently Joseph Shatzmiller, “Les Angevins et les juifs de leurs états: Anjou, Naples, et Provence,” in *L’État angevin. Pouvoir, culture et société entre XIII^e et XIV^e siècle* (Rome, 1998), 289–300. In 1311, for instance, Robert ordered his justiciar in Calabria to prosecute those Christians who “persecuntur eos [Judeos] infeste et domos lapidant eorumdem” in

Robert's interest in theology and philosophy certainly extended to Christian scholars as well. François de Meyronnes, a distinguished master of theology trained at the Parisian *studium*, wrote his commentary on Pseudo-Dionysius for Robert, "whose love of true wisdom sublimely influences his most serene mind, such that he can rightly be called not just an illustrious prince, but a true philosopher."²⁹ The Franciscan Giacomo Bianco d'Alessandria wrote a summary of Aristotle's *Physics*, *Metaphysics*, and *Ethics* in or before 1315, "at the request of the serene prince, lord Robert, king of Jerusalem and Sicily." As Martin Grabmann has observed, this convenient précis of Aristotelian thought is a likely source for Robert's own frequent references to the philosopher in his sermons and treatises.³⁰ From the Franciscan Arnald Royard, Robert commissioned another work that was essentially a reference tool: the *Opus moralium*, which despite its name was not a moral treatise but an alphabetical list of terms and phrases that Arnald explicated through biblical references, in much the way medieval preachers did in their sermons.³¹

Robert's evident interest in these subjects inspired scholars to dedicate yet further theological works to him. Both Giacomo and Arnald wrote commentaries on various books of the Bible for Robert.³² Surprisingly, even quite technical theological works were offered to Robert as gifts. Part of a theologian's advanced training involved commenting a classic text, Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. Giles of Rome, among the most celebrated scholars of the Augustinian order and

Gerace; the relevant document is published in Camillo Minieri-Riccio, *Saggio di codice diplomatico. Supplementum*, vol. 2 (Naples, 1883), 69. Robert also ordered the restoration of synagogues in Gerace, Rossano, and Cotrone in the Regno. Robert's boast about his kindness to the Jews is quoted by Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 1: 309.

²⁹ The comment appears in the prologue to the work: "cuius serenissimam animam adeo vere sapientie amor sublimiter allexit, ut non solum princeps inclitus, sed etiam verus philosophus non immerito potest dici": edited in Jeanne Barbet, "Le prologue du commentaire dionysien de François de Meyronnes, O.F.M.," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 21 (1954), 191.

³⁰ Martin Grabmann, *Methoden und Hilfsmittel des Aristotelesstudiums im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1939), 78–84.

³¹ Luke Wadding, *Scriptores ordinis minorum* (Rome, 1650; repr. 1906), 29, describes an autograph copy of the work, "pulchro minio et regis effigie ornatum". According to Charles-Victor Langlois, this manuscript now belongs to the Franciscan community in Dublin: see his article "Arnaud Roiard," in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. 35 (Paris, 1921), 465. At least five other copies survive, including MS Vat. lat. 7630, entire, whose initial letter is illuminated with an image of Arnald.

³² These are Giacomo d'Alessandria's *Postilla super evangelium*, and Arnald's *De Arca Noe*—the latter now lost, but probably a commentary on the relevant passage in Genesis.

author of the ruling handbook *De regimine principum*, dedicated part of his commentary on the *Sentences* to Robert; so did the southern Italian Franciscan Landulfo Caracciolo.³³ Such gifts suggest that Robert was well known both within and beyond the kingdom as a special patron of theologians. Indeed, one of those rare and valued private letters of the age indicates that his fame in this arena spread as far as England. An English jurist living in Avignon in the early 1320s wrote to his friend John Luttrell, an Oxford theologian, that he should come to Avignon not only for the patronage offered by the papal curia itself, but because “the king of Sicily is here, who immensely honors and loads with rewards men of your faculty.”³⁴

Artists also benefited from royal patronage, and burnished Robert's royal reputation through the celebratory images with which they decorated the city of Naples. The most famous of these was certainly Giotto, who executed several commissions for Robert in the royal residence of Castelnuovo, including the decoration of a palace chapel and the throne hall. These works have since been destroyed, but thanks to a fourteenth-century visitor who described the throne hall frescoes in a poem, we know that they depicted a series of “illustrious men” from the Bible and classical antiquity, often (and perhaps always) paired with their female counterparts.³⁵ Equally renowned was the Sienese painter Simone Martini, from whom Robert commissioned a famous panel painting of his brother, Louis of Anjou, soon after Louis' canonization in 1317. This image celebrated not only Louis, on whom angels bestowed a heavenly crown, but Robert himself, who was pictured receiving the earthly crown of Naples from his brother's hand. Pietro Cavallini came to Naples in 1308 and is believed to have initiated the decoration of S. Maria Donna Regina, a royal foundation for the Poor Clares, whose nuns' choir contained numerous frescoes glorifying the Angevins' lineage; the Tuscan sculptor Tino da Camaino produced six major royal tombs as well as other projects for the crown during his long sojourn in the capital.³⁶

³³ On Giles' commentary, see Dykmans, *La vision bienheureuse*, 37*–38*; on Landulfo's, see below at n. 149.

³⁴ The civil jurist was Stephen Kettleburgh, who wrote to Luttrell between 1321 and 1323. See Darleen Prids, *The King Embodies the Word: Robert d'Anjou and the Politics of Preaching* (Leiden, 2000), 83.

³⁵ See the anonymous article “Immagini di uomini famosi in una sala di Castelnuovo attribuite a Giotto,” *Napoli nobilissima* 9 (1900), 65–67.

³⁶ On these and other artists in the Angevin artistic milieu, see the surveys of Ferdinando Bologna, *I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli, 1266–1414* (Rome, 1969),

Accomplished manuscript illuminators also worked in service to the crown, including that Cristoforo Orimina who embellished a deluxe Bible, the so-called Bible of Malines, in a Giottoesque style around 1340. This Bible contains some of the most interesting dynastic imagery to issue from Robert's Naples, and the circumstances of its creation illustrate how even a "private" text could circulate among influential members of the court. It was long believed that the Bible was commissioned by Niccolò d'Alife, an official of Robert's administration. His coat of arms appears at the start of the manuscript, and a colophon at the end, on folio 306, asserted that it belonged to him. Since a male figure is depicted presenting the codex to a female figure to the left of the colophon, it would appear that Niccolò gave the Bible to Joanna I, Robert's successor—probably before her succession, since, as Ferdinando Bologna has observed, the Bible and its illuminations were certainly produced during Robert's reign. More recently, Marc Dykmans discovered that Niccolò's coat of arms was painted over that of the da Capua family, also very closely connected to the king: Bartolomeo da Capua was Robert's chief government officer, and his son Roberto was made a count by King Robert. Since Bartolomeo died before this manuscript could have been made, it was most likely Roberto who commissioned the manuscript, which later passed to Niccolò. The male figure presenting the Bible to Joanna may have been either owner; but certainly the Bible and its rich dynastic imagery circulated among several members of the royal court during and after Robert's reign.³⁷

Robert seems to have had a certain interest in music as well. According to a contemporary observer from Parma who followed Robert's reign rather closely, the king "was a great singer and composer of songs, and invented a new song about symbols."³⁸ Certainly

and Pierluigi Leone de Castris, *Arte di corte nella Napoli angioina* (Florence, 1986). On royal tombs in particular, see W.R. Valentiner, *Tino da Camaino. A Sienese Sculptor of the Fourteenth Century* (Paris, 1935) and Lorenz Enderlein, *Die Grablagen des Hauses Anjou in Unteritalien. Totenkult und Monumente 1266–1343* (Worms am Rhein, 1997).

³⁷ Bologna, *I pittori*, 276–7; Dykmans, *La vision bienheureuse*, 42*. The Bible was long in the collection of the Archepiscopal Seminary of Malines, whence its name. On individual illuminations, see Chapter Six at nn. 92, 121, and Plates 14–16.

³⁸ "Iste fuit magnus cantor et inventor cantus et invenit cantum novum super simbolo." The comment comes from Gabrio de' Zamorei, a Parmesan lawyer some twenty years younger than Robert who followed the Angevins closely enough to write a poem for Robert's son's death in 1328, and made these comments on Robert himself in the early 1370s. See Marco Vatasso, *Del Petrarca e di alcuni suoi amici* (Rome, 1904), 37–63 for Gabrio's life and works; the citation appears at 22n.

he was associated with two of the greatest composers of the fourteenth century. Marchetto da Padova, who dedicated to Robert his “Pomerium,” was employed in the royal chapel.³⁹ Philippe de Vitry, a French composer equally noted by musicologists, composed a motet that glorified Robert’s person and reign:

Rex quem metrorum dipingit prima figura,
 Omne tenens in se quod dat natura beatis—
 Bazis iusticie, Troianus iulius ausu,
 Ecclesie tuctor, Machabeus in arma,
 Rura colens legum, scrutator theologie,
 Temperie superans Augustum, iulius hemo—
 Virtutes cuius mores genus actaque nati
 Scribere non possem; possint super ethera scribi.

The king described here—a foundation of justice and protector of the Church, mighty in arms, learned in theology and law—is never explicitly named, but his identity was playfully embedded in the acrostic formed by each line’s initial letter: *ROBERTVS*.⁴⁰

A full picture of Robert’s patronage, however, must extend beyond the authors represented in his library and his commissioned artists. A number of illustrious men assumed places in Robert’s entourage as advisors, ministers, familiars and publicists; many of them produced works that were not, as far as extent records reveal, included in the royal library, but that served to justify, defend, and exalt Robert’s rule in a variety of ways. They are as indicative of Robert’s cultural preferences as the scholars named above, and if anything more involved in the construction of his policy and public image. Because they will be cited regularly in following chapters, it is well to introduce them individually.

Bartolomeo da Capua was the royal client par excellence: the king’s protonotary and logothete, he was the highest-ranking government official in the kingdom, and a principal architect of Robert’s policy.⁴¹ As a legislator, he enacted various judicial reforms that

³⁹ Anna Maria Voci, “La cappella di corte dei primi sovrani angioini di Napoli,” *ASP/N* 113 (1995), 69–126.

⁴⁰ Gabriel Zwick, “Deux motets inédits de Philippe de Vitry et de Guillaume de Machaut,” *Revue de musicologie* 28 (1948), 35–36. I thank Etienne Anheim for kindly calling this work to my attention.

⁴¹ On Bartolomeo’s career and writings, see Léon Cadier, *Essai sur l’administration du royaume de Sicile sous Charles Ier et Charles II d’Anjou* (Paris, 1891), 207–213; Romualdo Trifone, “Il pensiero giuridico e l’opera legislativa di Bartolomeo di Capua in rapporto al diritto romano e alla scienza romanistica,” in *Scritti in onore di A. Maiorana*

simplified procedures, weeded out abuses, and enforced subjects' rights before the court.⁴² As a noted legal theorist, he wrote learned commentaries on the *Corpus iuris civilis* and an authoritative gloss on the Constitutions of Melfi (the legal compilation of Frederick II that remained in use under the Angevins) known as the *Glossa aurea*. His theoretical formulations were grounded in his practical experience as a legislator and royal official, and indeed the *Glossa aurea* was a ringing defense of Angevin sovereignty in the face of compromising relationships to both pope and emperor. As a royal official, he worked assiduously on Robert's behalf even before his succession: he helped obtain Robert's and his brothers' release from Aragonese captivity in 1295, and then to secure Robert's acceptance as heir to the throne. As logothete, finally, during Robert's reign—and here his publicistic contribution is most in evidence—he expressed the king's will and celebrated his rule in speeches to the papal curia, to foreign embassies, and to subjects of the realm.⁴³

Bartolomeo's publicity on behalf of the king was only one of his duties, but it was supplemented by the efforts of several mendicant friars. Among the most prolific of these supporters was François de Meyronnes.⁴⁴ An intimate of one of Robert's trusted advisors, the Provençal baron Elzéar de Sabran,⁴⁵ François made a brilliant debut

(Catania, 1913), 6–26; A. Nitschke, “Die Reden des Logotheten Bartholomäus von Capua,” *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 35 (1955), 226–274; and Jean-Paul Boyer, “Parler du roi et pour le roi: Deux ‘sermons’ de Barthélemy de Capoue, logothète du royaume de Sicile,” *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 79, 2 (1995), 193–248.

⁴² Trifone, “Il pensiero,” 13–19.

⁴³ See Nitschke, “Die Reden des Logotheten.” The allocutions given during Robert's reign are listed in the Appendix below.

⁴⁴ Despite François de Meyronnes' importance as a theologian and publicist, there is no current, thorough overview of his life and work. Edouard d'Alençon, “Meyronnes, François de,” in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, vol. 10, 1634–1645, and Charles-Victor Langlois, “François de Meyronnes,” in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. 36 (Paris, 1924), 305–342, have been largely superseded by Bartholomäus Roth, *Franz von Mayronis OFM: Sein Leben, seine Werke, seine Lehre vom Formalunterschied in Gott* (Werl i. W., 1936). On specific works of his oeuvre, see Jeanne Barbet, *François de Meyronnes-Pierre Roger, Disputatio* (Paris, 1961); H. Rossmann, “Die Sentenzkommentare des Franz von Meyronnes O.F.M.,” *Franziskanische Studien* 53 (1971), 129–227; Pierre de l'Apparent, “L'oeuvre politique de François de Meyronnes, ses rapports avec celle de Dante,” *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 9 (1942), 5–51; and Friedrich Baethgen, “Dante und Franz von Mayronis,” in *Mediaevalia: Aufsätze, Nachrufe, Besprechungen*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart, 1960), 442–456.

⁴⁵ Baron of Ansouis in Provence and Count of Ariano in the Regno, Elzéar was

at the Parisian theological *studium* in 1320–21, and composed a treatise defending Robert's rule, probably a *questio* he debated at Paris, around the same time.⁴⁶ This combination of scholarly promise, pro-royal sentiment, and membership in Elzear's entourage (through which he may have met the king in 1309–10 or the early 1320s) brought François to the king's attention. In 1323, Robert requested, and obtained, that François be promoted by the Parisian *studium* to the level of theological master, despite the fact that he had completed only half the requisite curriculum.⁴⁷ François also attracted the favor of the pope at whose court Robert was then residing: in 1324, he was selected for a papal diplomatic mission to the warring French and English armies in Gascony, and seems to have remained in the environs of the papal court for the next few years before dying, still young, around 1328.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, in his short career he managed to write not only the commentary on Pseudo-Dionysius

entrusted with numerous high responsibilities by King Robert, and like his wife, Delphine, was an intimate of the royal family. The *Acta Sanctorum*, Sept., vol. 7 (Paris and Rome, 1867–1869), 494–555, offers the most thorough and careful survey of Elzear's life. By the time of Elzear's death in 1323, François was his *familiaris* and principal spiritual advisor, and preached the count's funeral sermon in 1324.

⁴⁶ François' sententiary debates with Pierre Roger (the future Pope Clement VI) in 1320–21 attracted widespread attention and praise: see Roth, *Franz von Mayronis*, 82; Barbet, *Disputatio*, 20; and *CUP*, vol. 2, n. 822, where Pierre Roger's contribution earned the pope's praise. François' thinly-veiled pro-Robertian treatise was the the *De subiectione*, which exalted the virtues of princely vassalage to the papacy. A firm *terminus ante quem* is provided by the larger *Tractatus de summa trinitate* (1322) into which the *De subiectione* was incorporated; most likely the latter was written a year or two previously, as was another *questio* assimilated into the 1322 treatise. See Roth, *Franz von Mayronis*, 72–83, and de l'Apparent, "L'oeuvre politique."

⁴⁷ *CUP*, vol. 2, n. 823, pp. 272–273, and *Bull. Franc.*, vol. 5, n. 500, p. 250. Regarding the usual length of theological studies, Gordon Leff, *Paris and Oxford Universities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (New York, 1968), 176, states that before 1335 the term for a formed bachelor was 5 years, but the papal letter of dispensation written for Pierre Roger in 1323 (*CUP*, vol. 2, n. 822) sets it at six years.

⁴⁸ *Jean XXII (1316–1334). Lettres communes*, ed. G. Mollat, vol. 5 (Paris, 1909), nn. 20349 and 20350. These letters are undated (the mission probably did not take place, due to an early peace between the armies), but d'Alençon persuasively dates them to April 1324: see "Meyronnes, François de," 1635. François' continued proximity to the papal court is suggested by his commentary on the papal investigation of Ockham's orthodoxy in 1326, and his petition to the pope for Elzear's canonization in 1327. On the first, see A. Pelzer, "Les 51 articles de Guillaume Occam censurés en Avignon en 1326," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 18 (1922), 240–270, and Roth, *Franz von Mayronis*, 244–246; on the second, *Acta Sanctorum*, Sept., vol. 7, p. 495 nn. 7–8, and pp. 521–522 nn. 170–178.

dedicated to Robert, but a series of theoretical and explicitly publicistic works on the king's behalf: three tracts that supported, in general terms, Robert's vassalage to the papacy and his much-vaunted erudition; another tract explicitly exalting Robert's rule; and several sermons glorifying Robert's brother, St. Louis of Anjou.⁴⁹ His career is one indication that the production of royal propaganda was not confined to the Neapolitan capital, but stretched across the territories Robert ruled.

Nearly as prolific an Angevin publicist was the Dominican Giovanni Regina (Johannes de Neapoli).⁵⁰ Like François, he became a royal client early in his career. In 1298, when Giovanni was a student of theology at Bologna, King Charles II ordered that he be paid four ounces of gold from the coffers of the inquisitorial office of the Regno; after returning to teach at the Dominican *studium* in Naples for a few years, he was sent, at the king's request, to pursue advanced theological studies at Paris, where he remained as a student and regent master from 1309 to 1317.⁵¹ As a distinguished theologian, he was selected, in following years, to advise the pope on theological questions.⁵² But his main duties were at the Dominican *studium* in Naples and in service to the king. He was a member of Robert's entourage in Avignon in the early 1320s, where he helped to promote a project dear to Robert, the canonization of Thomas Aquinas, and where he was invited to preach alongside the king when the canonization was approved in 1323. Returning to Naples with the rest of the royal entourage in 1324, he was selected by Robert the following year to lead an investigation into abuses in the royal demesne. His principal service to the crown, however, was as a

⁴⁹ Several political treatises are edited in de l'Apparent, "L'oeuvre politique." On François' sermons for St. Louis, see the Appendix below.

⁵⁰ On Giovanni see P.M. Schaff, "Jean de Naples," in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, vol. 8, cols. 793–794; Tommaso Kaeppli, "Note sugli scrittori dominicani di nome Giovanni di Napoli," in *AFP* 10 (1940), 48–71; and, for more recent bibliography, Kaeppli, *SOP*, vol. 2, 469.

⁵¹ For the first gift, see Gennaro Maria Monti, "Da Carlo I a Roberto d'Angiò," *ASP*, n.s., 20 (1934), 165, which publishes the relevant document; on the second favor, Kaeppli, "Note sugli scrittori, 49."

⁵² One of these was the famous question regarding Christ's and the apostles' possession of goods, the center of the Franciscan poverty controversy; the other regarded conditions for the annulment of a marriage. See Kaeppli, "Note sugli scrittori," 51.

dynastic publicist: he preached eleven sermons in honor of Robert's dead relatives, and others on occasions of political significance.⁵³

A second Dominican preacher and royal publicist was Federico Franconi.⁵⁴ Though not as distinguished a theologian as Giovanni Regina, he achieved a certain prominence within his order. In 1334–5 and again from 1339 to 1341, he was one of the four Dominican inquisitors in the kingdom; in the latter period he was also vicar general of the Dominican province of southern Italy, and thus the order's highest-ranking official in the kingdom. Just prior to this appointment, from 1337 to 1339, he had been the prior of S. Pietro a Castello, a Neapolitan monastery with close links to the royal court. Located hard by the royal palace, it had been founded by Robert's mother in 1300, and sheltered Robert's aunt, the Hungarian princess Elizabeth.⁵⁵ Federico's own allegiance to the royal family was expressed in the six memorial sermons he preached in honor of Robert's father and brother, and, perhaps as a reward for this dedication, he was accorded the distinction of preaching the sermon for Robert's own funeral in 1343.⁵⁶

Three more friars, all lectors in the religious *studia* of Naples and honored clients of the king, composed treatises that expounded the righteousness and glories of Robert's rule through a more or less general discourse on the right relations between spiritual and temporal powers. The first was Guglielmo da Sarzano, a lector in the Franciscan *studium* of his native Genoa before transferring to that of Naples, where he served from 1316 until 1327.⁵⁷ His first treatise,

⁵³ These sermons are noted in Kaeppli's notes on the relevant manuscript (Naples, BN, MS VIII AA 11) in "Note sugli scrittori," and are listed in the Appendix below.

⁵⁴ The scant information available on Federico is summarized in Kaeppli, *SOP*, vol. 1, 402–403.

⁵⁵ Émile Bertaux, *Santa Maria di Donna Regina e l'arte senese a Napoli nel secolo XIV* (Naples, 1899), 11.

⁵⁶ The sermons are discussed in detail by David d'Avray, *Death and the Prince. Memorial Preaching Before 1350* (Oxford, 1994); I would like to thank the author for kindly providing me with his transcriptions and notes on the sermons.

⁵⁷ On Guglielmo's life and works see Ovidio Capitani, "Il 'Tractatus de potestate summi pontificis' di Guglielmo da Sarzano," *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser., 12 (1971), 997–1014; F. Delorme, "Fratris Guillelmi de Sarzano De excellentia principatus regalis," *Antonianum* 15 (1940), 221–244; and Renato Del Ponte, "Un presunto oppositore della Monarchia dantesca," in *Omaggio a C. Guerrieri-Crocetti* (Genoa, 1971), 251–269.

written in 1322 and dedicated to Pope John XXII (at whose court Robert was then living), expounded a general principle common to many in Robert's entourage: the fullness and preeminence of papal power. His second treatise, also dedicated to the pope, was written thereafter; entitled *De excellentia principatus regalis*, its general observations on royal power were, like François de Meyronnes' treatises, a rather thinly-veiled paean to the virtues of Robert's rule. In recompense for this support, Robert ordered in 1327 that Guglielmo be paid a monthly stipend of an ounce of gold out of the royal treasury.⁵⁸

Andrea da Perugia, Guglielmo's colleague at the Franciscan *studium* of S. Lorenzo in Naples, is remembered primarily as a protagonist in the polemical battle against the imperial claimant Ludwig of Bavaria, who deposed Robert and threatened invasion of his kingdom in the later 1320s. Andrea's *Contra edictum Bavari* echoed the arguments put forth by the royal court: the fullness of papal sovereignty, the empire's lack of authority over Italy, and the heresy and illegitimacy of Ludwig himself. As a defense of both the papacy and the Angevin, this treatise earned Andrea the gratitude of both. In September 1332, the pope requested of the archbishop of Naples that Andrea be conferred the theological master's license at Naples, despite the fact that the university did not normally confer this degree.⁵⁹ This special exemption certainly involved the king's collaboration, who as head of the Neapolitan university authorized the conferral of all degrees; but Robert honored the friar yet further by preaching a sermon at the royal palace in honor of Andrea on the occasion of his promotion two months later.⁶⁰ Andrea remained at the Franciscan *studium* in Naples for the next ten years; in 1343, shortly after Robert's death, he was appointed bishop of the southern Italian diocese of Gravina.⁶¹

Perhaps the most distinguished theologian in Robert's entourage was the Augustinian friar Agostino d'Ancona (Augustinus Triumphus).⁶²

⁵⁸ Reg. Ang. n. 283, c. 324, dated 6 April 1327: cited in Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 2: 390.

⁵⁹ CUP, vol. 2, 400, n. 946.

⁶⁰ Dykmans, *La vision bienheureuse*, 36*. The short sermon is edited in the appendix of Pryds, *King Embodies the Word*.

⁶¹ Conrad Eubel, ed., *Hierarchia catholica mediæ ævi* (Regensburg, 1913), 1: 268.

⁶² See B. Ministeri, "De Augustino de Ancona, OESA, vita et operibus," *Analecta Augustiniana* 22 (1951), 7–57; Michael Wilks, *The Problem of Sovereignty in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1963), esp. the introduction; and P. Giglioli, "Il 'Tractatus

A native of the March of Ancona, he studied and taught theology at the Parisian *studium* from 1304 to 1315, and composed several treatises there that established his reputation as the most outspoken pro-papal theoretician of his time. In 1322 Robert invited him to Naples to serve as a royal counsellor and chaplain, and he remained there, affiliated with the Augustinian *studium* of the city, until his death six years later.⁶³ During these years he composed his magnum opus, the *Summa de ecclesiastica potestate*, completed and dedicated to Pope John XXII in 1326. This work bore the imprimatur of the royal court—no less a person than Bartolomeo da Capua sent it to Avignon with his commendation—and, like Andrea da Perugia's treatise, it endeared him to both pope and king. John XXII rewarded Agostino's "labor ingenii in opere misso pontifici" with an initial payment of 100 gold florins, and continued to subsidize him for the rest of his life. Robert described him in the most honorific terms as "master of Holy Scripture, our counselor, chaplain, familiar and *fidelis*," and, acquiescing to the old friar's request to die in his homeland, oversaw the transfer of his goods to Ancona accompanied by a royal letter of authorization and protection. In the event, Agostino died before he could make the journey, and was buried with honor in the church of S. Agostino alla Zecca in Naples.⁶⁴ Agostino's *Summa* was not a work of specifically Angevin publicity, but it was an expression, from one of the most influential theorists of the day, of the kind of religio-political opinions favored by the king.

A seventh friar worth mention is the Augustinian Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro, eminent theologian and lector at his order's *studium* in Avignon. Robert invited him to Naples in late 1337 or early 1338, an offer Dionigi quickly accepted. Though he produced no known written publicity for the king, he did publicize for him in another way: it appears that his move to Robert's court caught the attention

contra divinatores et sompniatores' di Agostino d'Ancona: Introduzione e edizione del testo," *Analecta Augustiniana* 48 (1985), 7–111.

⁶³ In a document of October 1322, Duke Charles of Calabria, vicar general of the Regno while his father was residing in Avignon, welcomed Agostino as his own and the king's counsellor and chaplain. The document is published in Matteo Camera, *Annali delle due Sicilie*, 2 vols. (Naples, 1860), 2: 285. Caggese (*Roberto d'Angiò*, 2: 378) states that Agostino first came to Naples around the beginning of Robert's reign, but I have found no evidence to support this claim.

⁶⁴ The documents from the papal and Angevin registers relating to these events are cited in Ministeri, "De Augustino," 10–11, 54–55.

of his old friend from Provence, Petrarch. Within a year poet and king had initiated their first correspondence, and with Dionigi's aid the poet made a famous visit to the Neapolitan court in 1341.⁶⁵

Though not members of Robert's entourage, three more clerics deserve attention for the strong support of Robert and his dynasty that they proclaimed in the strategic allied centers of Tuscany and the papal court. The first and most prolific was the Dominican Remigio de' Girolami of Florence. A disciple of Thomas Aquinas and influential preacher from his pulpit in the church of S. Maria Novella, Remigio preached ten sermons in honor of the Angevins before 1315, five of which were devoted to the virtues of Robert himself.⁶⁶ The second was Ptolemy of Lucca, another disciple of Aquinas and continuator of his *De regimine principum*. Well known for his defense of papal authority, Ptolemy is generally considered a champion of republicanism in Italy, yet he proved to be a staunch supporter of Angevin monarchy.⁶⁷ One sign of his allegiance was his initiative in retrieving the body of Robert's nephew, fallen in the battle of Montecatini in 1315, from the victorious Pisan army; another was his attribution to the Angevins of the thaumaturgic power of the "royal touch."⁶⁸ And his treatise "On the jurisdiction of the Church over the Kingdom of Apulia and Sicily" launched a vigorous defense of Robert's independence from the empire in the face of Emperor Henry VII's particularly threatening juridical and military campaign against the kingdom.⁶⁹ In light of such actions, Marc Bloch has concluded that "Ptolemy should doubtless be considered less a papal loyalist than a devoted partisan of the house of Anjou."⁷⁰

⁶⁵ The first mention of contact between Petrarch and Robert appears in a letter (*Rer. Fam.* IV, 2) that Petrarch wrote to Dionigi, in which the poet acknowledged that he was as yet "unknown" to the king. On this letter, its context, and its dating, see Giuseppe Billanovitch, *Petrarca letterato*, vol. 1: *Lo scrittoio del Petrarca* (Rome, 1947), 193–198. On Dionigi's career see M. Moschella, "Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro," in *DBI*, vol. 40, 194–197.

⁶⁶ On these sermons, see G. Salvadori, "I sermoni d'occasione di Remigio di Girolami fiorentino" in *Scritti vari di filologia dedicati a Ernesto Monaci* (Rome, 1901), and E. Panella, "Nuova cronologia remigiana," *AFP* 60 (1990), 145–311.

⁶⁷ For the republican interpretation of Ptolemy's political views, see Charles Davis, *Dante's Italy* (Philadelphia, 1984), chapters nine and ten, and the entry on Ptolemy in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, vol. 15, cols. 1017–1019.

⁶⁸ Marc Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges* (Paris, 1924; repr. 1983), 131–132.

⁶⁹ The treatise is printed in *Miscellanea novo ordine digesta*, ed. S. Baluze and J. Mansi, vol. 1 (Lucca, 1761), 468–473.

⁷⁰ See above, n. 68.

The Guelf towns of Tuscany were in many ways a “satellite” of the Angevin realm: some, like Florence and later Prato, were for years under direct Angevin lordship, and the Guelfs’ battles and treaties were rarely conducted without Angevin leadership. The vocal support of men like Remigio and Ptolemy thus served to disseminate an ideal image of Robert in a significant theater of Angevin activity.

The same may be said of the Franciscan Bertrand de Turre, among the most influential churchmen of his day. A master of theology trained at Paris, he served as lector in the Franciscan *studium* of Toulouse before rising to the post of provincial minister of his native Aquitaine in 1315. Here he collaborated with another friar who later entered Robert’s circle, Arnald Royard, and attracted the favor of Pope John XXII, who turned to him for diplomatic service and theological advice between 1317 and 1320. By this time Robert was resident at the papal court in Avignon, and his presence may have contributed to Bertrand’s appointment as bishop of Salerno, south of Naples, in October 1320. Bertrand never took up the post (which went instead to his old colleague, Arnald Royard): within three months he was made cardinal. He continued to reside in Avignon, advising the pope and serving, by 1328, as lector of the Avignonese *studium*, until his death in 1332 or 1333. In these same years he preached in Avignon on members of the Angevin house: five sermons on Robert’s sainted brother Louis, after 1317, and another for the death of Robert’s son and heir Charles in 1328. Bertrand was certainly more a client of the papal court than of Robert. But as a resident in Angevin territory, and servant of Robert’s closest ally, Bertrand added his voice to that of other Provençal supporters like François de Meyronnes in publicizing the glories of the dynasty.⁷¹

Petrarch and Neapolitan Humanism

All told, the books Robert collected and the clients he supported reflect a basic cultural orientation of the court that was solidly traditional: one dominated by theology, with a notable presence of medicine and law and some history. According to several scholars, however,

⁷¹ On Bertrand’s career see Patrick Gauchet, *Cardinal Bertrand de Turre, Ord. Min.* (Rome, 1930), esp. 32–50, 98–108. For his Angevin sermons see the Appendix below.

Robert's cultural orientation shifted around the middle of his reign to favor classicizing humanism. The nucleus of change was three men—Niccolò d'Alife, Barbato da Sulmona, and Giovanni Barrile—who served in the entourage of Robert's son, Charles of Calabria, during his signory of Florence in 1326–1327. Having come into contact with humanist influences in Florence, so the argument goes, they returned to Naples to take up positions in the administration of the king and presided over a transformation of the court.⁷² Their influence was augmented by the presence of like-minded men in Naples: Paolo da Perugia, a member of the royal household, and Paolo's young friend Giovanni Boccaccio, who came to the city in 1326 to assist his father in a branch of the Florentine Bardi bank and stayed until 1339.⁷³ In cultural terms, this humanist transformation culminated in Petrarch's invitation to court by Robert in 1341. Petrarch was, of course, Europe's most celebrated representative of the new enthusiasm for and historical approach to classical antiquity: he was not only "the most famous private citizen of his day," but to many scholars the very father of humanism.⁷⁴ The apogee of his career was to be his coronation with the poet's laurel, a revival of classical tradition and the highest honor the poet could conceive. Before being crowned in Rome, however, he wished to be "examined" to test his worthiness for the honor—and the only living man capable of judging him was, in Petrarch's estimation, King Robert, "the only king of our age who was at once the friend of knowledge and of virtue."⁷⁵ His visit to Naples in 1341 was for the purpose of this examination, which took place over three days. A mutual affirmation of the greatest early humanist and of the king he embraced as his cultural equal, this meeting has been described as having "all the value of an ideological rupture."⁷⁶

⁷² Versions of this argument can be found in: N.F. Faraglia, "Barbato da Sulmona e gli uomini di lettere alla corte di Roberto d'Angiò," *Archivio storico italiano*, 5th ser., 3 (1889), 313–360; Walter Goetz, *König Robert von Neapel* (Tübingen, 1910), 34–45; and Sabatini, "La cultura," 76–78.

⁷³ The most thorough study of Boccaccio's Neapolitan years is Francesco Torraca, "Giovanni Boccaccio a Napoli (1326–1339)," *ASPN* 39 (1914), 25–80, 229–267, 409–458, 605–696.

⁷⁴ The cited phrase is that of Ernest Wilkins, *The Life of Petrarch* (Chicago, 1961), 29.

⁷⁵ So Petrarch explained in his autobiographical "Letter to Posterity," *Rer. Sen.* XVIII, 1. For a recent edition see Francis Petrarch, *Letters of Old Age*, 2 vols., trans. Aldo Bernardo et al. (Baltimore, 1992), 2: 667.

⁷⁶ Barbero, *Il mito angioino*, 158.

Indeed, the humanist transformation of the court has been linked to political change as well. These new men, Italian laymen all, were “soon able to replace theologians and preachers in the articulation of ideology and the creation of public opinion;” they became dominant “not only in Robert’s intellectual circle, but even at the helm of Angevin politics, in the administration of the kingdom, and in diplomatic activity.”⁷⁷ Robert’s changed preferences from theologians to secular men of letters, from an international group of clients to one wholly Italian—preferences manifested by offering these new men influential posts in his administration and diplomatic corps—supposedly signalled a wholesale shift in political policy. A recurrent theme in histories of Robert is his abandonment, mid-reign, of a close alliance with the papacy in favor of an independent policy: secular or heretical, nationalist, Italian.⁷⁸

The presumption of links between Robert’s patronage, his personnel, and his policy is not mistaken. As the foregoing pages indicate, many of the learned men Robert favored did attain influential positions at court and contribute to “the articulation of ideology and the creation of public opinion.” There is little evidence, however, that Robert’s entourage was transformed either culturally or politically by an influx of Italian laymen in the later 1320s. Giovanni Boccaccio was only thirteen when he arrived in Naples, and his development as a humanist lay far in the future. Indeed, while in Naples he pursued the kinds of interests for which the capital was noted: he studied civil law, admired texts of a traditional encyclopedic nature, participated in the chivalric atmosphere presided over by French princesses of the royal house.⁷⁹ Further, while he was friendly with

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁷⁸ The most succinct, full articulation of this argument is again Barbero, *Il mito angioino*, 153–154, but its several components—substitution of court personnel, breach with the papacy, adoption of a heretical stance, and shift to a secular, national Italian policy—can be found in various combinations in a wide range of studies. For bibliography, see the fuller discussion of these issues in Chapter Three (on Robert’s shift from orthodoxy to heretical sympathies) and Chapter Five (on Robert’s Italian policy).

⁷⁹ Among the works Boccaccio read and admired in this period were Paolo da Perugia’s encyclopedic *Collectanea* and Paolino da Venezia’s world history, the *Historia Satyrice*. Though he would later express disdain for the latter, he remained an admirer of the former, which became a principal source for his own *Genealogie deorum*: see Torraca, “Boccaccio a Napoli.” On the chivalric interests of French-born Angevin princesses (Marie de Valois, Agnes de Perigord) and their reflection in

some members of the royal court and tried, unsuccessfully, to attract the patronage of several members of the royal family, he never attained any position in Robert's entourage, nor is there any indication the king knew of the young man's existence.⁸⁰ As for the men who did attract royal patronage, their humanism turns out to consist largely of their friendship with Petrarch—a friendship which, in any case, started with Petrarch's visit and not in the 1320s. Their own writings, while expressing an enthusiasm for classical literature, were wholly medieval in style and sensibility.⁸¹ Further, while all four men attained positions in Robert's court, they were not so powerful or numerous as to dominate it—two, indeed, held only minor administrative posts—nor is there evidence that they contributed to any major reorientation of royal policy.⁸² None of them, certainly, composed the kinds of theoretical or publicistic works that would earn them the title of ideological spokesmen and architects of public opinion.

The cultural tenor of the court in Robert's later years remained as it was in earlier decades. Prominent religious who died in the 1320s, such as François de Meyronnes and Agostino d'Ancona, were

early works of Boccaccio like the *Fiammetta*, see Altamura, *La letteratura*, 54–55, Sabatini, “La cultura,” 84–85, and Barbero, *Il mito angioino*, 155–156.

⁸⁰ Émile Léonard, *Boccace et Naples* (Paris, 1944), 27, notes Boccaccio's efforts to attract the patronage of Charles of Durazzo, Robert's nephew, and of Catherine de Valois-Courtenay, Robert's sister-in-law. His failure to obtain it resulted in his apparently reluctant return to Florence in 1339.

⁸¹ Petrarch corresponded with Barbato, Niccolò d'Alife, and Giovanni Barrile in the years after 1341, when he first met them in Naples; he does not seem to have known Paolo da Perugia. Scholars embracing the humanist argument often quote Petrarch's praise of his Neapolitan friends' writings, and judge those of Paolo as an early example of that philological humanism later exemplified by Lorenzo Valla. See, for instance, Torraca, “Boccaccio a Napoli,” 57–59, and Altamura, *La letteratura*, 84–85. More sustained analyses of their writings, however, have consistently resulted in judgments of their wholly medieval (and often mediocre) style. See Dante Marrocco, *Gli arcani storici di Niccolò d'Alife* (Naples, 1965), 7–8; I. Walter, “Barrili, Giovanni,” in *DBI*, vol. 6, 529–530; A. Campana, “Barbato da Sulmona,” in *DBI*, vol. 6, 130–134; and F. Ghisalberti, “Paolo da Perugia commentatore di Persio,” *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere*, 2nd ser., 62 (1929), 540, 591–2.

⁸² The more minor officials were Barbato da Sulmona and Paola da Perugia: on their careers see below at n. 131 (Barbato) and nn. 142–3 (Paolo). More influential positions were held by Giovanni Barrile, on whom see below at n. 130, and by Niccolò d'Alife, who as royal secretary helped arrange the negotiations for the marriage of Robert's granddaughter and successor in the early 1330s. Information on Niccolò's career under Robert is scattered: see Faraglia, “Barbato,” 336; Minieri-Riccio, “Genealogia,” *ASPN* 7 (1882), 680; and Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*, 279–80.

replaced by equally conservative churchmen like Paolino da Venezia. Other preachers and theologians, such as Giovanni Regina, Federico Franconi, and Landolfo Caracciolo, survived to serve the king throughout his reign. The death in 1328 of Robert's most trusted official, Bartolomeo da Capua, was doubtless a great loss, but other civil jurists continued to serve in similar capacities as vice-protonotaries in later years. Even Robert's book collecting shows no signs of alteration, for if he acquired more works in the later years of his reign, as surviving documents seem to suggest, they continued to be largely religious, juridical, and medical in subject matter.

Only a few items in Robert's cultural inventory struck a more novel cultural chord, but as the best examples of a possible humanist element in Robert's court environment they merit a moment's further attention. The throne hall frescoes that Giotto painted between 1328 and 1334 took up a theme that would become highly popular in later works of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italy: illustrious men and women. Around 1337 Petrarch began work on his own *De viris illustribus*, and Boccaccio, in his later years, wrote separate works on famous men and women; the theme was frequently rendered visually as well in the palaces of Italian princes and nobles. Giotto's Neapolitan frescoes, which have been called "Trecento Italy's first pictorial cycle of secular historical inspiration," certainly influenced the subsequent florescence of this theme. It was Giotto's students who took up the theme treated by their master in Naples and spread it to other princely courts: to the palace of Azzo Visconti in Milan, where Giotto's studio painted a similar fresco cycle in 1339, or to the Orsini of Rome, where Giotto's student, a second-generation member of Giotto's school, painted a "sala piena d'uomini famosi" in 1369. Whether Petrarch or Boccaccio were inspired by Giotto's treatment is difficult to determine. Boccaccio spent time around the royal court, and may well have seen the throne hall before his departure in 1339; Petrarch would certainly have seen the frescoes during his visit to the palace in 1341, near the start of his decades-long work on his own *De viris illustribus*, and he was, in turn, the principal catalyst behind the fresco cycle of illustrious men commissioned by his later patron, Francesco da Carrara, between 1367 and 1374. Certainly the fame of Giotto's work endured: into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, his Neapolitan cycle was remembered by celebrated Florentine artists like Lorenzo Ghiberti and Giorgio Vasari. In this context it is well to note that there was nothing specially humanist

about Giotto's rendition of illustrious men and women. Juxtaposing Biblical figures with those from classical antiquity, and treating the latter principally as exemplars of particular virtues, the cycle hewed to the "moralistic and encyclopedic sensibility of medieval historiography."⁸³ The cycle was, in short, fully consonant with the traditional cultural tenor of Robert's court, and at the same time a model still admired in the High Renaissance. It demonstrates not the humanist transformation of Robert's court, but rather a certain continuity between medieval and Renaissance themes.⁸⁴

Even more striking than the frescoes of Giotto is Robert's early acquisition of Livy's *De bello Macedonico*. This text was "virtually unknown" until Petrarch discovered two copies of it, emended their readings, and bound the resulting edition together with Livy's two known decades—an undertaking which has been called "an extraordinary feat in the field of classical learning."⁸⁵ Both the discovery of this long-lost classical history and the philological approach to its editing (not to mention the identity of its editor) have made it an early and emblematic example of the new humanism. Petrarch's discovery occurred in Avignon in 1328, and his painstaking editorial work took years.⁸⁶ Yet already in 1332, Robert ordered one of his scribes to copy the fourth decade for the royal library. How the text reached Naples so early is by no means clear, especially since Petrarch had no contact with the Neapolitan court until the later 1330s.⁸⁷ But

⁸³ Leone de Castris, *Arte di corte*, 220–222.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 220. While noting Giotto's "medieval" treatment of this theme, he still associates his fresco cycle with the new humanist orientation supposedly introduced by Barbato da Sulmona *et alii*.

⁸⁵ Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch*, 16.

⁸⁶ For a detailed study of Petrarch's work on this edition, see Giuseppe Billanovitch, "Petrarch and the Textual Tradition of Livy," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 14 (1951), 137–208.

⁸⁷ Billanovitch implies that Paolo da Perugia (assumed by many, on scant evidence, to have been the head of the royal library) was somehow responsible for this acquisition. Since Robert had numerous contacts with the papal court, it is possible that someone in Robert's circle learned of Petrarch's discovery there, had a copy made, and brought it to Naples. However, the relevant Angevin document does not speak of acquiring a copy already done, but of ordering a copy made by one of his scribes, which seems to suggest that the exemplar was in Naples. Another provenance is also possible. As Billanovitch relates ("Petrarch and the Textual Tradition," 164–166), Landulfo Colonna owned one of Petrarch's two base manuscripts—a very old codex, now Paris lat. 5690, that he had discovered in the library of Chartres Cathedral—and brought it with him to Rome in 1329. It remained there at least until 1331, when Landulfo died and his nephew, Giovanni Colonna,

its presence in his collection, like the theme of his palace frescoes, suggests that in a great cultural center like Robert's Naples, new impulses could find a place within a predominantly traditional cultural environment.

Petrarch's famous visit to court in 1341 inspires a similar conclusion: wholly traditional in itself, it was at the same time conceived by Petrarch as the necessary prelude to that poetic coronation in Rome that summed up the poet's humanist self-conception. First, Petrarch came into contact with Robert's court through established patterns of patronage: like many of Robert's clients, he arrived via Avignon and the circle of learned theologians connected to the papal court. Secondly, the examination he requested was a wholly medieval procedure, modelled on academic degree ceremonies and unrelated to the classical tradition of poetic laureations; this, indeed, appears to be what Petrarch as well as Robert expected. Finally, the conversations it involved, as Petrarch himself would later recall, revealed how versed Robert was in theology, philosophy, and science and how little interested in poetry or classics. Yet this did not diminish Petrarch's esteem for the king, whom he continued to laud in the most flattering terms even long after the Angevin's death. In sum, Petrarch's visit betrays no sign of a perceived distinction between "medieval" and humanist": on the contrary, Petrarch's insistence on both the preliminary examination by Robert, in Naples, and the consciously classicizing laureation itself, in Rome, emphasizes instead their continuity. The same might be said of Giovanni Boccaccio, who developed into a noted humanist after the quite traditional intellectual pursuits of his Neapolitan years, and yet continued to laud Robert as "the wisest man of his time, learned in many fields, an excellent man of letters, poet, historian, and astrologer."⁸⁸

It is perhaps natural that the question of a scholastic versus humanist orientation in Robert's Naples would occupy historians' attention: it was one of the great cultural centers of a half-century balanced between two ages in art and literature, and identifying to which it

acquired it. Given Rome's proximity to Naples and the frequent contacts between them (Ludwig of Bavaria had retreated from Rome in 1328, and Angevin forces had re-entered the city), it seems at least equally plausible that the exemplar of Robert's copy came from Rome.

⁸⁸ Boccaccio's description of Robert was noted by Donato degli Albinazzi, commentator of Boccaccio's *Eclogues*: see Leone de Castris, *Arte di corte*, 220.

belonged appears significant not only for gauging the general tenor of Robert's reign but for tracing the transformation of Europe from a medieval to a Renaissance mode. The contradictory conclusions of this debate, however—some arguing for a medieval culture, some for humanist, some concluding that Robert's court itself was contradictory—suggest a flaw in the basic terms of the debate. The notion of a rebirth of classical culture after centuries of medieval darkness, and hence of a defining opposition between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, was the invention of Italian writers after 1350, and principally of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who celebrated their own achievements by contrasting them with the ignorance of an earlier age.⁸⁹ That invention must be judged one of the great publicity coups of history. It has been so influential that six hundred years later it still defines a dominant periodization of old regime Europe—yet it was, as numerous specialists have demonstrated, in good part fiction. Renaissance classicism built on a solid foundation of medieval familiarity with classical texts; “medieval” scholastic culture flourished, in Italy as much as elsewhere, into and beyond the sixteenth century.⁹⁰ Certainly Renaissance scholars eventually discovered more classical texts, began to view them in a different historical light, and composed their own works in closer emulation of them.⁹¹ But the beginnings of that gradual process were not defined by opposition, and to impose a categorical opposition on them obscures the character of those beginnings themselves: it results in assessments like that of Robert's “backward” medieval culture, or unfounded announcements of his prescient humanist awakening. Even those early humanists who would help construct the notion of a cultural caesura between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance did not judge Robert in that framework. To Petrarch and Boccaccio, what was most significant about Robert's culture was not its character, old-fashioned or innovative as it might be, but simply its extent. He

⁸⁹ See the relevant texts compiled in Denys Hay, *The Renaissance Debate* (New York, 1965).

⁹⁰ Defining humanism itself in various ways, different specialists have identified its roots in the eleventh, twelfth, or thirteenth centuries: for instance Walter Ullmann, *The Medieval Foundations of Renaissance Humanism* (London, 1977); Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanist Strains* (New York, 1961); Roberto Weiss, *The Dawn of Humanism in Italy* (London, 1947).

⁹¹ For a recent discussion see Ronald Witt, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients: The Origins of Italian Humanism from Lovato to Bruni, 1250–1420* (Leiden, 2001).

was “learned in many fields,” “as famous for his culture as for his rule”—indeed, as both men emphasized, he was preeminent in his time for these qualities—and hence he was the kind of prince most likely to appreciate and reward their intellectual efforts.⁹²

Patronage and Publicity as Instruments of Rule

The opinions that Petrarch and Boccaccio expressed about Robert are significant not only for grasping the character of his cultural milieu, but because they call attention to a deceptively simple and much-overlooked aspect of his patronage: its quantity. In the intensity of Robert's cultural patronage and the results it produced, its full import as an instrument of rule comes into clearer focus. First, and on what we might call the most instrumental level, Robert's patronage was the scaffolding on which he built his own reputation as a learned man. It is not just that learned clients assumed, or pretended to assume, a similar learning in their patron, flattering him in their dedications as a “true philosopher” or one who “shone among princes of the world for his knowledge of medicine.” By collecting, reading, and drawing on the writings of his clients, the king made their erudition his own. When meeting with foreign ambassadors, he peppered his conversation with information gleaned from his library. So we know from comments found in two manuscript copies of Paolino da Venezia's *Historia satyrica*, which testify that Robert read and annotated the text, and on the basis of its information “spoke to foreign ambassadors about their homelands as if he had been there, wherefore they rightly marvelled at his wisdom.”⁹³ Commentaries and compendia—Giacomo d'Alessandria's resumé of

⁹² See nn. 88 above and 104 below.

⁹³ Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS E III 11, on fol. 43, notes that one of copy of the work belonged to Robert, and that “Rex Robertus per quem librum omnibus ambaxatoribus dicebat condiciones terrarum et regionum earum ac si ibi stetisset unde de eius sapientia merito mirabantur.” Cited in A. Ghinato, *Fr. Paolino da Venezia, vescovo di Pozzuoli* (Rome, 1951), 59. One copy belonging to Robert was doubtless Cesena, Bibl. Malatestiana, MS Plut. XI sin. 5, on whose flyleaf is written, “Rex Robertus hunc librum compilavit et multe ex glosis sunt eius manu scripte.” See Isabelle Heullant-Donat, “Entrer dans l'histoire. Paolino da Venezia et les prologues de ses chroniques universelles,” *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Moyen Age* 105 (1993), 424.

Aristotle, Arnald Royard's dictionary of biblical references—doubtless served him in composing his sermons as well. The rubric of an oration preached to Tuscan and Bolognese ambassadors specified that Robert gave it “without inspecting his books, so that he could quickly respond to them.”⁹⁴ The comment implies that Robert's usual practice was to consult the works in his library before preaching: by producing such works for the king, his clients contributed to his reputation for erudition. His treatises, too, bear the mark of his clients' expertise. Jean-Paul Boyer is surely correct in proposing that Robert's *questio* on divine and human law, presented before an audience of juridical scholars from the university, shows the influence of Bartolomeo da Capua, a renowned legal scholar and Robert's highest government aide.⁹⁵

These observations touch, of course, on the question of Robert's authorship. It seems highly unlikely that the king had leisure time enough, while ruling a complex of turbulent territories, to single-handedly compose the several hundred learned texts attributed to him. At the same time, contemporary witnesses attest to his personal involvement in the perusal of sources and formulation of his own orations. It appears no contradiction, therefore, to assert both that Robert had much aid in producing his writings and that they should still be considered his.⁹⁶ For the audiences who heard his sermons or read his treatises and diplomatic letters, Robert was certainly the author, and the erudition that the king displayed through them was, as we will see, central to his self-conception and public image. For the moment we may note simply that his patronage was crucial in the development of that image. In this sense, the influence of patronage flowed centripetally, as the erudition of clients accumulated in the patron at their center.

⁹⁴ “Collatio quam fecit Rex Sicilie ad ambassiatores Bononie et Thuscie missos per legatum Lumbardie et ipsorum communia, sine inspectione librorum, sicut se prompte potuit recolligere.” Edited in Goetz, *König Robert*, 69–70.

⁹⁵ Jean-Paul Boyer, “Une théologie du droit. Les sermons juridiques du roi Robert de Naples et de Barthélemy de Capoue,” in *Saint-Denis et la royauté. Études offertes à Bernard Guenée*, ed. François Autrand et al. (Paris, 1999), 650–651.

⁹⁶ For the sermons, a complicating issue is the text's relationship to the oral presentation: are they transcriptions of an auditor's hearing of the spoken sermon, the actual texts from which Robert read, a simplified version amplified with anecdotes in the telling? Such questions admit of no easy answer: see the discussion of Pryds, *King Embodies the Word*, 13–15.

Patronage had a centrifugal vector as well: as clients multiplied, they spread Robert's reputation with them. In this regard it is certainly pertinent that the king's patronage embraced many of the most famous men of the age. Giotto, Simone Martini, and Tino da Camaino rank among the most famous artists of Italy, and indeed of Europe, in the early fourteenth century. None of them was a native of the Regno, and there was nothing inevitable about their association with the Neapolitan court. Robert's solicitation of them indicates an awareness of their fame and interest in bringing the best available artistry into the service of the crown. Dino del Garbo was Italy's leading medical scholar, Philippe de Vitry and Marchetto da Padova among the century's greatest composers. Well-known theologians like Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro and Agostino d'Ancona were specifically invited to court, and indeed the long list of Robert's theological clients was conspicuous for its number of elite, Parisian-trained masters. The fame of these men redounded to the greater glory of their patron, and spread the word of Robert's patronage to their various homelands and along the paths of their often international careers. It was while describing the fame of Dino del Garbo, for example, that Giovanni Villani mentioned Robert's patronage of him: the client's fame in Tuscany helped to spread Robert's reputation with it. The English jurist Stephen Kettleburgh heard of Robert's patronage in Avignon, and sent word of it on to Oxford. It was Robert's patronage of Dionigi that brought Petrarch into the royal ambit, and Petrarch's visit, in turn, embellished the king's reputation among the poet's many admirers, as did the praise Petrarch subsequently heaped on the king in numerous letters. Patronage compounded on itself, and disseminated Robert's reputation with it.

In their efforts to obtain or give thanks for royal patronage, clients trumpeted a wide variety of royal virtues. They might celebrate Robert's piety and devotion to the Church, his illustrious and holy lineage, his military strength, his clement concern for his subjects. Given the congruence between their interests and his own, they often emphasized especially his erudition, or like Philippe de Vitry, they might laud all these qualities at once. Patronage produced publicity: it was the most natural and causal of relationships. In this regard, the quantity as well as the quality of Robert's clients is significant, for by supporting a large number of learned and talented men, Robert set in motion a virtual publicity machine. Several scholars have noted the remarkable amount of homiletic propaganda issuing

from the courts of the first three Angevin kings.⁹⁷ Over two dozen memorial sermons were preached for (uncanonized) members of the Angevin house of Naples, more than for any other royal dynasty surveyed in David d'Avray's study of such sermons up to 1350.⁹⁸ Including sermons preached for living Angevin princes, for Robert's brother Saint Louis of Anjou, and for occasions of state, the number of dynastic sermons rises to 65; if we add the state "sermons" given by the civil jurist Bartolomeo da Capua in his role as logothete, we come to just over one hundred.⁹⁹ Roughly half of these sermons were preached in Robert's reign alone.¹⁰⁰ Further, these sermons were supplemented by numerous other forms of royal publicity: not only frescoes, panel paintings, sculpture, and manuscript illumination, but political, legal, and religious polemics that supported Robert's rule and policy while denigrating those of his rivals. It stretches credulity to imagine that Robert was unaware of this result of patronage. His active solicitation of and extensive support for scholars and artists, combined with his own self-promotion through

⁹⁷ D'Avray, *Death and the Prince*, 89; Jean-Paul Boyer, "Prédication et État napolitain dans la première moitié du XIV^e siècle," in *L'État angevin. Pouvoir, culture, et société entre XIII^e et XIV^e siècle* (Rome, 1998), 129–131.

⁹⁸ Professor d'Avray does not provide a specific count, but signals many of these sermons and notes the remarkable number produced for this dynasty, which exceeds that for any other dynasty he covers. My count of Angevin princely memorial sermons includes (for Robert's reign) 11 by Giovanni Regina, 7 by Federico Franconi, 2 by Remigio de' Girolami, and one by Bertrand de Turre (all listed in the Appendix), as well as four sermons antedating Robert's reign, on which see Chapter Three at nn. 204–5. D'Avray notes a 26th Angevin princely memorial sermon, preached by Juan of Aragon on Robert's brother Philip of Taranto. Juan was an Aragonese prince, and nephew of Philip and Robert; because his sermon belongs more to Aragonese dynastic preaching (itself worth note) than Angevin, I do not include it in the appendix. See *Death and the Prince*, 53–54.

⁹⁹ A recent survey by Boyer ("Prédication et État," 129–131) counts 52 sermons emanating from Naples and Florence, plus 4 more he cites in relation to Charles I. To these can be added 7 more sermons on St. Louis—three unedited ones by François de Meyronnes, one by either François or Landulfo Caracciolo, and three by Bertrand de Turre—as well as two by Giovanni Regina honoring the deaths of important officials of Robert's court, Bartolomeo Brancaccio and Hugh de Baux. These nine sermons are listed in the Appendix. Bartolomeo da Capua's speeches—in sermon form, though he was a civil jurist—are described and numbered at 41 by A. Nitschke, "Die Reden des Logotheten." The number is lowered to 39 by Boyer, "Prédication et État," 131.

¹⁰⁰ These sermons are listed in the Appendix below. Their dating, which in a few cases cannot be set with absolute certainty to the years of Robert's rule, is discussed in the appendix.

frequent preaching, suggest that he acknowledged image-making as a central priority for an effective and successful reign.

Does this attention signal a larger shift in the conception of ideal and effective rule? Certainly many princes and kings of the medieval era were generous patrons of learning and art, and benefited from the resulting flattery of their clients in similar ways. In a few cases, such as Charlemagne and Alfred of England in the ninth century, Emperor Frederick II and Alfonso X of Castile in the thirteenth, this patronage was pronounced enough to constitute an integral element of their ruling strategy, alongside the great deeds of war that occupied much of their careers. In the centuries following Robert's reign, such patronage became only more widespread, and the publicity it produced more consciously cultivated. The Este, Gonzaga, Montefeltri, and Medici accomplished many things, but what their names call to mind first is lavish patronage of arts and letters, and the flattering portraits of rule their clients produced. It was a phenomenon reflected in Machiavelli's famous advice to appear, rather than be, the sum of ruling virtue, and to treat the cultivation of public image as a central instrument of rule; it is what inspired Burckhardt to describe the Italian Renaissance state as a work of art, and to seek its explanation in these princes' need for legitimation.¹⁰¹ The same phenomenon is well noted north of the Alps, where one of the "fundamental changes" in the courts of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was the prince's exploitation of "literature and the arts for political 'propaganda' on an unprecedented scale," and where a queen like Elizabeth I of England is indissolubly associated with names like Shakespeare and Spenser and with her own reflected image as a Deborah, an Astraea, a Virgin Queen.¹⁰² All told, cultural patronage emerges as a significant part of such princes' ruling personae, and extensive publicity as a major instrument of their policy, in a way that may be true for a few medieval rulers but was certainly not true of most, including some of the greatest.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, chapter 18, and Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, part I.

¹⁰² Ronald Asch, "Introduction: Court and Household from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries," in *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility. The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, c. 1450–1650*, ed. Ronald Asch and Adolf Birke (Oxford, 1991), 6. On Elizabeth see, among others, Christopher Hibbert, *The Virgin Queen. Elizabeth I, Genius of the Golden Age* (Reading, MA, 1991).

A change in degree, in short, may ultimately spell a change in kind: what Stephen Greenblatt, in a literary context, has called “Renaissance self-fashioning” presents itself as a phenomenon characteristic of early-modern rule in a way that it was not in the medieval era.¹⁰³

In this context, Robert’s patronage may signal a significant moment in the shifting balance of ruling priorities. His great concern for public image and his cultivation of the patronage necessary to produce it—without, significantly, the memorable military deeds so basic to the reputation of a Charlemagne or a Frederick II—suggest that in this, and not in the specific character of his patronage, lay his anticipation of later European trends. Indeed, when later humanists recalled Robert’s reign, his patronage was among the principal aspects they praised. To Petrarch, writing in 1373–4, Robert was “as famous for his culture as for his rule” and made Naples “that city most friendly to studies.”¹⁰⁴ Thirty years later, in the passage cited at the opening of this chapter, the humanist Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna celebrated Robert as another Augustus and worthy example for Giovanni’s own patron-princes of Padua precisely because “all in the world who sought the rewards of the study of letters poured into his kingdom, and not in vain.”¹⁰⁵

Culture and the Court

For the fifteenth and later centuries, such pronounced cultural patronage and publicity have often been linked to the development of the princely court as a distinct milieu. One classic description of that milieu is Castiglione’s *Book of the Courtier*, an early-sixteenth-century swan song for the type of courtly environment already decaying in Italy as city-states succumbed to the power of foreign rulers. In Castiglione’s Urbino, “wise, talented, and eloquent” men attended on the prince, adorned his court with their erudite conversation, and

¹⁰³ Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1980).

¹⁰⁴ *Rer. Sen.* XVI, 7 and XVII, 4: cited from Petrarch’s *Letters of Old Age*, trans. Bernardo et al., 2: 630, 677.

¹⁰⁵ Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna, *Dragmalogia de Eligibili Vite Genere*, ed. and trans. H.L. Eaker (Lewisburg, 1980), 115. For a fuller discussion see Chapter Seven at nn. 49–54.

observed fine rules of comportment that made the court a little world of its own.¹⁰⁶ This “court phenomenon” has been detected throughout fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy and, starting with the ducal court of fifteenth-century Burgundy, in transalpine Europe as well. It is characterized, first, by the court’s distinction from the princely administration and formation of a “court universe,” a social circle “with its own very specific rules of behaviour and its own specific culture;” secondly, by its primary role of magnifying the prince’s magnificence and distance from common subjects, through both its closed nature and its “calculated policy of court spectacle . . . [and] continual rites of public display;” thirdly, especially in Norbert Elias’ influential thesis, by its function of “domesticating” or integrating provincial nobles who were therefore less able to stir up trouble in their territorial strongholds.¹⁰⁷ How universal these characteristics were remains hotly debated among historians of the early-modern court. Further, the idea that “fundamental changes” distinguished the early-modern court from its predecessors has been increasingly challenged by scholars of the medieval period.¹⁰⁸ In sum, while pronounced cultural patronage and the resulting publicity can be identified through relatively concrete indices (the number and quality of cultural clients, the written and visual works produced), the whole question of its social-institutional context—that is, the question of “the court,” its significance, and the chronology of its evolution—remains open. Given that Robert’s Naples was characterized by a very high level of cultural patronage and great quantity of dynastic propaganda, it is worth investigating these questions of context for what light they may shed not only on the specific nature of Robert’s

¹⁰⁶ Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. Charles Singleton (Garden City, NY, 1959), 5.

¹⁰⁷ Two useful overviews of recent scholarship are Asch, “Introduction,” 1–38 for transalpine Europe, and for Italy, Trevor Dean, “The Courts,” in *The Origins of the State in Italy, 1300–1600*, ed. Julius Kirschner (Chicago, 1996), 136–151. The phrase “universo cortigiano” is a chapter title in Sergio Bertelli, F. Cardini, and E.G. Zorzi, *Le corti italiane del Rinascimento* (Milan, 1985). The quotation on specific court culture is from Asch, “Introduction,” 9; that on display from Peter Arnade, *Realms of Ritual. Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent* (Ithaca, 1996), 10, 13.

¹⁰⁸ C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness. Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 923–1210* (Philadelphia, 1985); Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture. Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, trans. T. Dunlop (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1991); Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court. Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270–1380* (Oxford, 2001).

entourage but on the larger chronology and taxonomy of the European court.

To begin one must define what constitutes the court—and this, not surprisingly, is one of the most ambiguous and contested issues. Scholars of both medieval and early-modern courts have called it “a protean institution and an elusive subject” and an entity that “defies institutional analysis.” Walter Map, a much-quoted commentator from twelfth-century England, perhaps said it best: “in the court I exist and of the court I speak, but what the court is, God knows, I know not.”¹⁰⁹ Most agree that the court was, or at least was centered in, the princely household. Less clear is its relation to the government administration. The Paduan courtier Giovanni Conversini could say around 1400 that courtiers were public officers; Lorenzo Ducci two centuries later asserted that courtiers were the prince’s *familia*, those who served him privately, in explicit contrast to bureaucrats.¹¹⁰ One explanation for this difference is that the early-modern age witnessed increasing differentiation between a professionalized “bureaucracy” and a more private household “court,” but this thesis is not without its detractors.¹¹¹

In Angevin Naples, it seems clear that the household was not fully distinct from the administration, and that this ambiguity was cause for some consternation. Certainly the term *curia* was used in Angevin documents to refer to the government administration, the *magna curia regis*, whose principal bureaux (judiciary, chancery, treasury) were by 1300 separate from the royal *hospitium* or household. Among high officers of the *magna curia regis*, however, the chamberlain and seneschal were still, as traditionally, charged with oversight of the household. Charles II declared around 1300 that the office of chamberlain was “useless to this kingdom and . . . without public benefit,” as if to acknowledge the private character of the household office and its

¹⁰⁹ R.J.W. Evans, “The Court: A Protean Institution and an Elusive Subject,” in *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility*, 481–491; Vale, *Princely Court*, 15–16. Walter Map’s comment, from *De nugis curialium*, is cited in Vale, *Princely Court*, 16; in Asch, “Introduction,” 7; and in Ralph Griffiths, “The Court During the Wars of the Roses,” in *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility*, 67.

¹¹⁰ Dean, “The Courts,” 149.

¹¹¹ Known as the “Eltonian thesis” in England, it is presented, but later qualified, in Asch’s survey of transalpine courts generally. See Asch, “Introduction,” 6; cf. G.R. Elton, “Tudor Government: The Points of Contact. III: The Court,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 26 (1976), 218–221.

distinction from the government bureaucracy.¹¹² Robert continued to appoint chamberlains and seneschals, but entrusted them principally with military and administrative tasks, leaving daily oversight of the household to underlings. The Catalan Diego de la Rath, for instance, long held the title of grand chamberlain, but his primary duties were as Robert's vicar in Ferrara and Tuscany, where he had to oversee both military and administrative direction of those difficult lordships; Hugh de Baux, who held the title of grand seneschal, served Robert primarily as a military captain.¹¹³ It was lesser men, described as seneschal or treasurer "of the royal household," who oversaw those more private functions, though they too, with enduring ambiguity, might sometimes be called an official "of the realm."¹¹⁴ If we approach the question from the other side, searching for those who were identified as *familiars*, or members of the king's private *familia*, the overlap between household and administration is yet more evident. The expected household personnel were so designated: the household treasurer, the king's surgeon, his chaplains.¹¹⁵ But so were officers of the government bureaux—a treasurer of the *magna curia regis*, a judge in one of the high tribunals, the chancellor—as were military men from the high-ranking master of marshals to more humble captains.¹¹⁶ Clerics great and small could be familiars, extending the "household" into the ecclesiastical centers of the realm; so were distinguished theologians, preachers, artists and scholars, at least some of whom certainly resided outside the royal castle or indeed outside the capital city itself.¹¹⁷

¹¹² Cadier, *Essai*, 226, with general overviews of these two offices at 214–28, 252–8.

¹¹³ Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASP* 7 (1882), 236, 260 (on Diego); 242, 466 (on Hugh).

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 469–72, describing one Giovanni Scaletta as seneschal of the royal household and Leone Reggio as treasurer of the household in 1318; in 1325, however, Leone was called "grand seneschal of the realm" (p. 488).

¹¹⁵ E.g., Filippo di Sangineto, chamberlain, and a "master Solomon," royal surgeon: Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASP* 7 (1882), 468, 236. On the chapel see below at nn. 135–141.

¹¹⁶ Riccardo Mazza, treasurer, and Matteo di Giovenazzo, judge, listed in *ibid.*, 254. The "great ducal court" in which Matteo served was doubtless the Vicarial Tribunal: see Chapter Four, at n. 14. On Ingherammo de Stella, chancellor, *ibid.*, 467, 660.

¹¹⁷ Ingherammo was archbishop of Capua before chancellor (see previous note); on the guardian of the Franciscan monastery of S. Lorenzo in Naples, *ibid.*, 261. Agostino d'Ancona, Federico Franconi, Giotto, and Matteo Silvatico, professor of medicine in Salerno, were all familiars, to be discussed further below.

These last examples point up an issue that Trevor Dean has highlighted for the study of premodern courts generally: not only the court's relation to the administration, but its relation to other institutions and places (the Church, the university, the capital and other cities). These and other questions useful for a concrete understanding of the court—the ways in which clients entered the royal entourage, for instance, and the permanence of their stay—are best addressed by tracing the careers of individual men, with special emphasis, here, on those men of intellectual and artistic talent most closely connected to cultural patronage and royal publicity.¹¹⁸

Some of Robert's clients benefited from royal patronage without coming to the royal court in Naples at all. The medical scholar Dino del Garbo fulfilled commissions for the king from his home in Tuscany, Scemeriah Ikriti and Judah Romano from Rome. Simone Martini may have painted his panel of St. Louis of Anjou in Assisi and had it sent to the Angevin capital; there is no firm evidence, at least, that he visited Naples.¹¹⁹ Calonymus ben Calonymus received a regular stipend from Robert's treasury, but remained in his native Provence. One of the king's most zealous defenders and publicists, the Provençal friar François de Meyronnes, seems never to have set foot in southern Italy. The last two clients, however, represent a separate case, for their native Provence was also an Angevin territory, with its own royal officials and administrators, and Robert himself spent some six years of his reign there. Such clients were therefore not necessarily far from the royal court: they were both connected to its Provençal branch and had access, during the king's sojourns, to his personal presence. François de Meyronnes, for instance, was a familiar of one of Robert's most trusted noble officers, Elzear of Sabran, and both he and Calonymus were honored with signs of royal favor during the king's stay in the county between 1319 and 1324.

Other clients, particularly artists who came from outside the kingdom, passed in and out of Naples as one stop in their itinerant careers. Pietro Cavallini, who is credited with frescoing two chapels

¹¹⁸ Dean, "The Courts," 142–3, on the need for further study of such aspects of the court.

¹¹⁹ See Francesco Aceto, "Pittori e documenti della Napoli angioina: aggiunte ed espunzioni," *Prospettiva* 67 (1992), 53–55. How Simone was able to paint Robert's likeness remains a mystery.

in the city, received a stipend and lodging from King Charles II in 1308. The fact that his stipend was specified as annual, and that his family accompanied him to Naples, suggests that he stayed at least a year or two (and thus into Robert's reign), but since no further government documents mention him probably not much longer.¹²⁰ Giotto stayed for over five years, from December 1328 until his return to Florence in April 1334. He was charged with particularly important commissions: frescoing the great chapel and secret chapel (or chapel of San Martino) of the royal palace of Castelnuovo, and executing the fresco cycle of "uomini illustri" for its throne hall. Like Pietro Cavallini, he received a regular stipend for his and his workshop's maintenance, but he was accorded higher honors as well. Government documents describe him as "chief master of works" and royal familiar, and Robert made a special note in 1330 that Giotto was to be retained "out of our hospitality, in order that he may enjoy the same honors and privileges that other familiars enjoy."¹²¹ The Sienese sculptor Tino da Camaino became an even more permanent fixture in the royal court. He moved to Naples with his family in 1324 and remained until his death in 1337. During these years he designed the tombs for Robert's mother, two of Robert's brothers, his son Charles and Charles' two wives, as well as for the unfortunate Mathilde de Hainaut, briefly betrothed to Robert's brother.¹²² If, as seems more than likely, the "Gino da Siena" mentioned in Angevin documents is Tino, he also took over the decoration of the royal chapel of San Martino after Giotto's departure, and oversaw the enlargement of the navy yard beside the royal castle in 1334–35.¹²³ Such assignments have earned him the title of Robert's court sculptor, architect, and engineer.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ Bologna, *I pittori*, 115; Leone de Castris, *Arte di corte*, 84–85. The frescoes of the Cappella Brancaccio in the church of S. Domenico and those of the Cappella di S. Aspreno in the cathedral are also attributed to him.

¹²¹ Bologna, *I pittori*, 183–85, 219–23, who provides the text of the second quotation; Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASPN* 7 (1882), 676, for the document recording payment of Giotto for work done on the two royal chapels in 1329–1330, and his title of "prothomagister operi."

¹²² Valentiner, *Tino di Camaino*, 93–139. Mathilde was forced to marry Robert's brother John in 1318, refused to recognize the union as valid, was quickly repudiated and died in an Angevin prison in 1331. See Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 1: 647–8.

¹²³ See the documents summarized in Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASPN* 8 (1883), 12, 15, 22.

¹²⁴ So he is called by Bernard Degenhart and Annegrit Schmitt, "Marino Sanudo

Many of the clerical scholars whom Robert favored had also travelled in the earlier stages of their careers. Some clerics started off as students and teachers in northern Italy: Giovanni Regina in Bologna, Agostino d'Ancona in Padua, Guglielmo da Sarzano in his native Genoa. An impressive number went on to pursue the advanced degree at Paris, which involved some eight years of study and teaching and thus created a strong link between that renowned theological *studium* and Robert's court. Many were equally linked to the papal court. Settled in the Provençal city of Avignon, the papal curia was essentially an honored guest in Angevin territory and one tied to the dynasty by close political bonds. It was also, however, an international cultural center that offered opportunities for patronage and advancement to intelligent and able clerics from throughout Europe, and was the place where Robert himself met some of his future clients. Paolino da Venezia, for instance, who started his career as a minor official of the Franciscan Order in his native Veneto, was a Venetian envoy by the 1310s (making him one of the few to serve another secular court before joining Robert's); these ambassadorial duties brought him into contact with the papal curia, where he gained a post, by the early 1320s, as papal penitentiary. During this sojourn in Avignon he met king Robert, who helped secure for him a bishopric on the Bay of Naples in 1324, designated him a royal counsellor and familiar, and frequently kept company with him thereafter.¹²⁵ Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro had been a lector at the papal *studium* in Avignon and an intimate of several influential cardinals; Giovanni Regina, a client of the Angevin house since his youth, was at the same time a papal adviser on two controversial theological questions that the papacy was seeking to resolve. Arnald Royard, who became bishop of one of the more important dioceses of Robert's kingdom in 1322 and dedicated several scholarly works to the king, owed much of his advancement to his longstanding ties to the papal curia. He was, in fact, one of the few men to leave Robert's entourage in favor of higher ecclesiastical posts.¹²⁶

Most scholars, clerical or secular, who received royal patronage remained permanently in Naples. The *magna curia regis* offered Robert

und Paolino Veneto. Zwei Literaten des 14 Jahrhunderts," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 14 (1973), 19.

¹²⁵ Ghinato, *Fr. Paolino*, 45, 53–59; Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 2: 377.

¹²⁶ For the fullest biography, see Langlois, "Arnaud Roiard," 462–467.

numerous opportunities to reward favorites; only some of these, however, were open to scholars. Not surprisingly, the military offices of the great court (admiral, constable, marshals, and their lieutenants) were generally reserved for nobles and knights of the realm or for foreigners of proven military skill.¹²⁷ How such nobles interacted with the crown is itself a prominent topic in court studies, related to the question of the aristocracy's "domestication" and the extension of centralized state authority. As a significant feature of Robert's internal administration of the realm it will be treated more fully in Chapter Four. Here it may suffice to note that nobles dominated the traditional high offices of the *magna curia regis* and served as well in many lesser government posts, but were joined, in the many positions related to the daily functioning of the administration, by talented men of humbler birth.

The two heads of the administration, for instance, protonotary-logothete and chancellor, were drawn from outside the feudal aristocracy. The protonotary-logothete was certainly the more dominant of the two. Protonotary and logothete were originally distinct offices, one representing the king in writing, the other orally, but from 1296 forward the two offices were combined in one person. He presided over all three bureaux of the *magna curia regis*, that is, the chancery, treasury, and tribunal. He received all requests directed to the king, and either responded personally or sent them on to the appropriate bureau; he also checked and signed all outgoing royal documents. He was literally the king's *alter ego*, and as such undertook numerous diplomatic responsibilities as well; in order to facilitate his work, he was allowed to appoint one or several vice-protonotaries to oversee routine administrative business. For the first twenty years of Robert's reign, as we have seen, this post was held by Bartolomeo da Capua, a distinguished scholar of civil law and member of a family long engaged in service to the crown. The position clearly required a rare combination of skills, as well as the king's complete trust in its holder, and perhaps for this reason Robert never appointed another man to the position after Bartolomeo's death in 1328. As for the

¹²⁷ To cite just a few examples: Jean de Joinville (de Iamvilla) was constable of the realm before 1313, Nicolas de Joinville was master of the royal marshals in 1314, Hugh de Baux (del Balzo) was captain general of Piedmont in 1315; Corrado Spinola of Genoa was named admiral in 1319, shortly after Robert obtained lordship of the city. Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASPN* 7 (1882), 234, 239, 242, 476.

chancellor, he was clearly overshadowed by his colleague, with whom he had to share even direction of the chancery itself. Still, he was the highest-ranking cleric in the administration, and had jurisdiction over all clerics in the *magna curia regis*, except for royal counsellors. Naturally enough, the post was offered to churchmen with close personal ties to the king. In the years just before Robert's succession and during the first year of his rule, this chancellor was no less a person than Jacques Duèse, the future Pope John XXII, who also served as Robert's counsellor and had been an adviser to Robert's brother Louis (whom Jacques, as pope, would later canonize). Later Robert gave the post to another trusted adviser, Ingherammo de Stella, already the archbishop of Capua and the king's counsellor and familiar.¹²⁸

The government bureaux convened twice a week by these two administrative heads gave shelter to many of the learned men who burnished Robert's and his capital's reputation.¹²⁹ They could serve as judges of the tribunal, or as provincial justiciars who answered to it; among the *magistri rationali* of the treasury, or among the notaries who filled the chancery and assisted in the other bureaux as well. Those men long hailed as representatives of Robert's "humanism," for instance, obtained such posts. Giovanni Barrile, whom Petrarch described as "dear to the Muses" on the basis of a well-written letter, was justiciar of several provinces of the Regno in the late 1330s; by the end of 1341 he was a *magister rationalis* in the treasury, and counsellor and familiar of the king.¹³⁰ Barbato da Sulmona, later a friend of Petrarch, obtained a position in the accounting office of Queen Sancia in 1335, rose to the position of justiciar in 1338, and was named secretary to the king two months before Robert's death.¹³¹

¹²⁸ On these two offices see Cadier, *Essai*, 194–213, 228–252; on Ingherammo, see Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASPN* 7 (1882), 467, 660.

¹²⁹ On the Monday and Wednesday meetings of these officers see Cadier, *Essai*, 204. On Fridays a smaller "secret council" convened, with the king in attendance.

¹³⁰ Information on Giovanni's career is scattered: see Émile Léonard, "Un ami de Pétrarque, sénéchal de Provence: Giovanni Barrili," in *Pétrarque. Mélanges de littérature et d'histoire* (Paris, 1928), 111; I. Walter, "Barrili (Barrile), Giovanni," in *DBI*, vol. 6, 529–530; Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASPN* 8 (1883), 384–385; Altamura, *La letteratura*, 97–98. For Petrarch's comment, see Torraca, "Boccaccio a Napoli," 57–59.

¹³¹ A. Campana, "Barbato da Sulmona," in *DBI*, vol. 6, 130–134; Altamura, *La letteratura*, 95. On Petrarch's praise of Barbato as "another Ovid," etc., see Torraca, "Boccaccio a Napoli," 57–59.

Though their literary pretensions were humble and do not seem to have attracted any attention from the king, they did find steady employment and a congenial environment for their pursuits in the royal court. More often administrative posts were filled by civil lawyers, who found considerable opportunities for advancement in the royal government. Three civil lawyers held posts as treasurers, one of whom went on to become the seneschal of Provence.¹³² Four more lawyers employed in the treasury accompanied an embassy sent to assess a treaty between Robert and the city of Genoa in 1317; the ambassador himself was a professor of civil law.¹³³ In a second legal-commercial dispute with Genoa in 1334, Robert's representative was again a professor of civil law, Giovanni Rivestro, who also served as regent of the great court.¹³⁴

As for the royal household, here the most promising path for talented men was through the chapel. Its personnel, housed in a tower within the palace complex of Castelnuovo, included chaplains, who at any given moment numbered about ten; a slightly smaller number of *clerici*, in charge of the physical maintenance of the chapel and its precious objects; and one or two *parvi clerici* (young cantors) and *somularii* (in charge of transport animals when the chapel was itinerant).¹³⁵ The toponymic surnames of the chapel personnel—*Lombardus*, *Anglicus*, *de Ypra*—suggest that they came to Naples from all over Europe.¹³⁶ Positions were also assigned to local men as a sign of the king's favor: when Robert wished to reward the civil lawyer Pietro Crispano in 1338 for services rendered, for instance, he did so by admitting Pietro's son as a chapel cleric.¹³⁷ In addition to its customary liturgical duties, the chapel was closely associated with the royal library. It was a royal chaplain who copied Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* for Robert in 1310, and the scribes who

¹³² These men were Giovanni Capassola, Marino di Diano, and Jean Eaublanc, the last of whom was named seneschal of Provence in 1329. Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASP* 7 (1882), 483, 667.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 254. The ambassador was Giovanni Luciani; one of the treasury lawyers was Giovanni Grillo, who went on to higher posts.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 8 (1883), 11.

¹³⁵ Anna Maria Voci, "La cappella di corte dei primi sovrani angioini di Napoli," *ASP* 113 (1995), 69–126, provides a prosopographical survey of the chapel personnel under the first three Angevin kings. On the chapel personnel's lodging, see Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASP* 7 (1882), 487.

¹³⁶ Coulter, "The Library," 143.

¹³⁷ Barone, 'Ratio Thesaurariorum', 105.

are described as *clerici* in royal documents may have been clerics of the chapel.¹³⁸ Furthermore, the master of the chapel seems to have been the head of the royal library, or at least an overseer of related activity. One chapel master, Giovanni de *Exarcellis*, was paid four ounces for “copying, illuminating, and binding books for the king” (probably for overseeing this work) in 1316.¹³⁹ Toward the end of Robert’s reign, another master of the chapel, *Petrus Budectus*, was described as custodian of the library.¹⁴⁰ The identification between chapel and scriptorium was not total: from 1332 at the latest, a separate building in Naples was rented to house the scribes of the royal library, who were thus presumably different from the chaplains housed in Castelnuovo.¹⁴¹ Nevertheless, association with the royal library added luster to a chapel position, and access to it was doubtless one of the chapel’s attractions.

Positions in the chapel also, of course, involved frequent access to the king, through which personnel might advance to higher honors. *Clerici* occasionally achieved a certain importance in the chapel. Marchetto da Padova, the noted composer who dedicated his *Pomerium* to Robert, was a chapel cleric. Paolo da Perugia, a royal familiar in 1324 and a chancery notary from 1330, was mentioned as a cleric of the royal chapel in 1334.¹⁴² According to his friend Boccaccio, he became the *custos bibliotece Roberti*, though no other documentation corroborates his promotion to such a high position.¹⁴³ It was the

¹³⁸ On friar Antonio, who copied the *De regimine principum*, see Coulter, “The Library,” 147. Two other copyists are described as “clericis scriptoribus et familiaribus” of the king: see Minieri-Riccio, *Saggio, Supplementum*, 2: 52.

¹³⁹ On Giovanni, see Voci, “La cappella,” 104.

¹⁴⁰ A document from the reign of Robert’s granddaughter, Giovanna I, described him as “magistrum cappelle, elemosinarium, et librorum custodem eiusdem domini avi nostri”: cited in Heullant-Donat, “Quelques réflexions,” 188.

¹⁴¹ In 1332, Robert ordered the payment of one ounce, six tari “pro pensione domus in qua morantur scriptores librorum regionum pro toto anno XV indictione proximo preterito”: Barone, “*Ratio Thesaurariorum*,” 88.

¹⁴² Torraca, “Boccaccio a Napoli,” 234–237. Though Torraca asserts that Paolo was a royal cleric from 1330, the documents he cites date from December 1334 and November 1335.

¹⁴³ Giovanni Boccaccio, *Genealogie Deorum Gentilium Libri*, ed. V. Romano (Bari, 1951), XV, 6: “fuit diu magister et custos bibliotece Roberti Jerusalem et Sylicie regis incliti. Et si usquam curiosissimus fuit homo in perquirendis, iussu etiam sui principis, peregrinis undecunque libris, hystoriis et poeticis operibus, iste fuit.” Torraca devotes twenty pages to Paolo’s career in “Boccaccio a Napoli,” 229–249. Though he drew heavily on the Angevin registers when they were still extant, he found no

higher-ranking chaplains who more often gained positions of influence in the king's entourage. Several were given the title of royal counsellor, and as such attended the Monday and Wednesday royal councils where the business of the court was conducted; some served as diplomats to foreign courts.¹⁴⁴

Robert's close alliance with the papacy permitted a number of his clients to advance to ecclesiastical positions in the realm. In 1324 Robert assigned a vacant minor benefice to his *familiaris* Paolo da Perugia.¹⁴⁵ Seven of Robert's chaplains, most bearing titles as royal confessors or counsellors, became bishops or archbishops in the Regno.¹⁴⁶ Other churchmen had attracted both royal and papal favor before advancing to the episcopacy, and probably owed their promotion to the mutual consent of pope and king. Such was the case for Paolino da Venezia, already papal penitentiary when Robert helped procure him the bishopric of Pozzuoli a few miles from Naples.¹⁴⁷ Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro, invited by Robert to court in 1337 or 1338, obtained with Robert's sponsorship the bishopric of Monopoli in 1340.¹⁴⁸ The biography of Landulfo Caracciolo, a Franciscan theologian from a noted Neapolitan family, illustrates well the combination of personal initiative, royal favor, and papal influence that could secure a promising career. Landulfo dedicated to Robert his commentary on Lombard's *Sentences* while still a student, and may have preached on Robert's brother Louis, in richly dynastic terms, after 1317.¹⁴⁹ Robert, for his part, sent Landulfo on royal business within and beyond the kingdom in the 1320s and supported his career. In July 1331, when Landulfo was bishop of Castellamare di Stabia, Robert tried to transfer the goods of an outlying monastery

corroborating evidence regarding Paolo's role as librarian. On his career see also Ghisalberti, "Paolo da Perugia," 535–598.

¹⁴⁴ For a summary of their careers, see Voci, "La cappella," 100–124.

¹⁴⁵ The relevant government document is published by Torraca, "Boccaccio a Napoli," 663.

¹⁴⁶ Voci, "La cappella," 100–124.

¹⁴⁷ See above, n. 125.

¹⁴⁸ Moschella, "Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro," 194–197.

¹⁴⁹ One manuscript copy of Landulfo's commentary on Book I of the *Sentences* (Florence, BN, MS Conv. Soppr. B 5 640) is noted by Pryds, *The King Embodies the Word*, 41. Another is Bologna, Collegio di Spagna, MS 46. I thank Robert Lerner for bringing this second copy to my attention. On the sermon possibly preached by Landulfo see the Appendix below.

to the diocese because Stabia was, in his opinion, too poor to adequately sustain its bishop. Barely two months later the pope went to considerable trouble to install Landulfo in the richer and more important archdiocese of Amalfi.¹⁵⁰

Whether or not he personally engineered their advancement, Robert maintained close ties to the episcopal and monastic leaders in the realm, who were unofficial (and sometimes official) members of his court. As the ranking ecclesiastic of the royal capital, the archbishop of Naples collaborated closely with the king on projects of religious-dynastic significance. James of Viterbo, who held this post just before Robert's accession, promoted the canonization of his brother, Louis of Anjou, from the pulpit of the cathedral; James' successor Hubert d'Ormont was instrumental in the canonization of Thomas Aquinas, another project dear to Robert. The heads of important southern Italian monasteries were also influential in Robert's court: the abbots of S. Maria di Realvalle and S. Maria *de Capellis* were Robert's chaplains, for instance, and the abbots of Cava, a Benedictine monastery whose scriptorium supplied the royal library, were honored with even higher posts at court.¹⁵¹ Filippo de Haya, Cava's abbot from 1317 until his death in 1331, was a collateral counsellor to the king, and one of the most powerful ecclesiastical lords of the realm; his successor Guttardus (or Riccardus) was Robert's chaplain and *familiaris*, then his counsellor, and finally vice-chancellor of the realm.¹⁵²

The religious and secular *studia* also overlapped with the royal court and served it in various ways. The school of medicine in Salerno provided Robert with medical scholars and translators: Matteo Silvatico, who was named a royal familiar in 1337, taught there, as did Niccolò Deoprepio da Reggio.¹⁵³ The university of Naples had

¹⁵⁰ Palma, "Caracciolo, Landulfo," 406–410; Kaeppli, "Note sugli scrittori," 52. Domenico Scaramuzzi, *Il pensiero di G. Duns Scotto nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia* (Rome, 1927), 67–75 is not reliable for the chronology of Landulfo's career, but attests to his standing as a noted Scotist theologian.

¹⁵¹ On the abbot-chaplains see Voci, "La cappella"; on Cava as a royal scriptorium, see Sabatini, "La cultura," 73.

¹⁵² On Filippo de Haya see Dykmans, *La vision bienheureuse*, 50*–53*. Filippo's brother, Giovanni, was an important official in the Angevin administration: regent of the Vicarial Tribunal on several occasions in the 1310s and 1320s, he also served as Robert's chamberlain, and was sent on delicate diplomatic missions to the papacy. On Guttardus and other Benedictine abbots who served as royal chaplains, see Voci, "La cappella," 119, 124.

¹⁵³ For Matteo's honorary title, see Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASPN* 8 (1883), 201.

much closer ties to the king, and functioned as a virtual annex of the royal court. The king controlled appointments to its faculty just as he controlled those to his administration and household, and often attended and spoke at academic ceremonies such as the conferral of degrees. Apart from the famous medical school of Salerno, he strove to suppress all other secular *studia* in the Regno to ensure its pre-eminence; in return, the university—particularly its most distinguished faculty, that of law—furnished Robert's administration with numerous officials.¹⁵⁴ We have already observed the prominence of jurists in the treasury and among Robert's chosen ambassadors. A few masters of law rose to very high government positions either during or after their teaching careers, and further strengthened the links between crown and *studium*. Giovanni Grillo, who taught civil law in Naples up to 1306, and worked in the royal treasury around 1317, held the high office of vice-protonotary from 1324 to 1342.¹⁵⁵ Bartolomeo Brancaccio, who had the dual merit of being both a civil lawyer and a cleric, held a number of influential positions at once: professor of civil law until 1338, he was simultaneously archbishop of Trani, and (from 1334) vice-chancellor of the realm, as well as a royal counsellor, familiar, and diplomatic envoy to the pope.¹⁵⁶ Andrea d'Isernia, trained in civil law at the Neapolitan *studium*, became one of its most famous alumni.¹⁵⁷ He served Robert's father as judge, treasury official, and finally (at the request of Bartolomeo da Capua) vice-protonotary; he retained this post under Robert until his death in 1316, all the while continuing to teach at the university. He put his legal expertise at Robert's disposal in a variety of ways. In 1309, for instance, he accompanied Robert to Avignon for his coronation, and helped to negotiate the delicate juridical-political questions surrounding Robert's succession. In the next few years he composed his commentary on the constitutions of the realm, whose defense of Robert's sovereignty provided the king with ammunition in his struggles with the Holy Roman Emperors.

The religious *studia* of the realm, finally, were home to many of the theologians and preachers whom Robert patronized. Natives of

¹⁵⁴ Monti, "L'età angioina," 19–150.

¹⁵⁵ Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASP* 7 (1882), 254; Sabatini, "La cultura," 56.

¹⁵⁶ Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASP* 8 (1883), 12, 18.

¹⁵⁷ Francesco Calasso, "Andrea d'Isernia," in *DBI*, vol. 3, 100–103; L. Palumbo, *Andrea d'Isernia. Studio storico-giuridico* (Naples, 1886).

the Regno, such as the Franciscan Landulfo Caracciolo and the Dominican Giovanni Regina, taught in these *studia* as part of the normal career of a mendicant theologian, before and after their advanced studies in Paris. François de Meyronnes followed a similar career path in Provence. Religious from outside Robert's territories also found homes in these *studia* during their Neapolitan sojourns. Agostino d'Ancona taught at the Augustinian *studium* in Naples, while Andrea da Perugia, Giacomo d'Alessandria, and Guglielmo da Sarzano all served as lecturers in the Franciscan *studium* of San Lorenzo. Though supported financially by their own religious orders, these men sometimes received stipends or other gifts from the king, were named *familiars*, and were entrusted with special assignments. Their most important work for Robert was as publicists, for both in their treatises and in their sermons they defended Robert's rule, glorified his dynasty, explicated his policy, and exhorted their listeners to his allegiance. These *studia* thus played a significant role in court culture, as homes for some of his favored clients and as centers of learning and preaching that contributed to the generation and diffusion of Robert's royal image.

Some sense of how numerous this entourage was can be gained from documents drawn up in preparation for the king's move to Avignon, in Provence, in 1318. The list of royal attendants included the grand chamberlain of the realm, twelve more chamberlains, a treasurer and a seneschal of the household, thirty-five knights, one hundred five squires (including twenty-one squires "of the king's person"), ten constables in charge of archers and foot soldiers, two captains of the horse, forty-nine members of the chapel, ten medics, three surgeons, two barbers, two custodians of the royal cup, two jurisconsults, and Robert's brother John of Durazzo. All told, two hundred and thirty-six persons were individually named as members of the king's retinue—to which must be added the "great number" of lesser attendants, including smithies and launderers, mentioned without specific names, and possibly a separate retinue for Robert's queen, Sancia, who accompanied him.¹⁵⁸ Nor was this list at all com-

¹⁵⁸ The document is summarized in Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASPN* 7 (1882), 469–472. The summary mention of a "great number" of smiths, launderers, and others may be Minieri-Riccio's and not the document's; in any case their precise number cannot be recovered.

plete: other documents indicate that Provençal nobles like Elzear de Sabran were present at court, as were familiars like Giovanni Regina.¹⁵⁹ The royal admiral was summoned to court in 1319; two southern-Italian counts, as well as three officials of the government treasury, the seneschal of Provence, and the archbishop of Capua were in attendance in 1322.¹⁶⁰ Such sizable retinues are an index of the increased magnificence and conspicuous display of princely courts, and have been much noted for the fifteenth-century dukes of Burgundy. Indeed, Robert's retinue of 1318 is comparable to those of the fifteenth-century courts of Burgundy and France, on the eve of their great expansion. The Burgundian court numbered two hundred thirty-four household officers in 1426 and listed three hundred eight persons in residence in 1450; that of the French kings numbered three hundred eighteen in 1490.¹⁶¹ Nor did Robert's court lack other indices of the "greater magnificence in ceremony" and "continual rites of public display" associated with the fifteenth century: jewel-encrusted robes and crowns for the king, equally precious devotional objects, extensive construction and beautification of the royal castle, and elaborate ceremonies like the weeks-long festivities that celebrated the marriage of Robert's heir.¹⁶²

If populous and luxurious in ways often associated with the Renaissance, Robert's court was not a "closed" circle. Government

¹⁵⁹ Elzear's *Life* noted that he frequently accompanied the king on horseback through the city: see the *Acta Sanctorum*, Sept., vol. 7, 494–555. On Giovanni's career, briefly outlined above, see Kaeppli, "Note sugli scrittori," 48–71.

¹⁶⁰ Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASPN* 7 (1882), 477, 483. The latter reference records these men as witnesses to an agreement between Robert and his brothers John and Philip.

¹⁶¹ Werner Paravicini, "The Court of the Dukes of Burgundy: A Model for Europe?" in *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility*, ed. R. Asch and A. Birke, 76; R.J. Knecht, "The Court of Francis I," *European Studies Review* 8 (1978), 2.

¹⁶² These characteristics of fifteenth-century Italian and Burgundian courts are noted respectively by Dean, "The Courts," 146, and Arnade, *Realms of Ritual*, 13. For Robert, records summarized in Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASPN* 7 (1882) and 8 (1883) note, for example, his jewel-encrusted robes and a golden crown set with over a hundred emeralds, sapphires, and other stones (vol. 8, 211); a golden statue of Saint Louis weighing over five pounds gold (8:212); some of the many repairs and additions to the royal castle (8:209); and the numerous and drawn-out preparations for the arrival of Andrew of Hungary, betrothed of Robert's heir Joanna, including the sending of ships to Slavonia to transport Andrew and an entourage of over 500 attendants to Italy, houses built at the port in Barletta to welcome them, and preparations for the festivities in Naples (vol. 7, 676, 683; vol. 8, 5–8, 209).

officers regularly held simultaneous posts elsewhere, as teachers of the Neapolitan *studium* or as beneficed clergy; noblemen came and went as they fulfilled military and administrative duties in the provinces. The religious *studia* of the capital provided Robert with royal familiars, ambassadors, and many of the king's most ardent publicists. Some clients, finally, received royal patronage from their homes in Provence or in other Italian territories without coming to the capital, or spent time in Naples, as artists often did, as one stop in itinerant careers. Where personnel were not aggregated in a central location and divided their duties among several institutions, no closed court society governed by "labyrinthine" rules or etiquette could easily take hold. Nor does Robert's court betray another characteristic often associated with a closed court: an emphasis on the king's majestic distance from subjects. Unlike the sixteenth-century prince Guglielmo Gonzaga, who "closed himself tightly in the *Corte vecchia*," Robert communicated directly with his subjects, for instance in the many sermons he preached to scholars of the university, religious communities, residents of strife-ridden towns and his own provincial judges.¹⁶³ So accessible was he that, according to a royal document, a certain Giovanni di Ruggiero was able to personally offer him the humble gift of some turnips, for which the king thanked him with a coin. Robert's courtiers praised such accessibility as a virtue: Robert interacted with subjects "on familiar and domestic terms . . . in the modesty of familiarity."¹⁶⁴

In sum, the distinguished cultural patronage and copious publicity of Robert's court took place in a context of magnificence and conspicuous display, but without creating either a closed court circle or an image of royal distance. This combination may suggest that the early fourteenth century was a transitional moment in the evolution of the court, betraying some "medieval" traits and others already more characteristic of the early-modern age. It may also suggest that the line between medieval and early-modern was itself

¹⁶³ Guglielmo's reputation is noted in Dean, "The Courts," 145. The contexts of Robert's preaching are described in more detail in Chapter Six, at nn. 17–36.

¹⁶⁴ On the turnip incident, Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASP* 7 (1882), 489. The quotation comes from Bartolomeo da Capua: "cum fidelibus regni familiariter et domesticis conversatus est, non in excellentia magnitudinis, sed modestia familiaritatis." See Jean-Paul Boyer, "Parler du roi et pour le roi. Deux 'sermons' de Barthélemy de Capoue," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 79 (1995), 244.

jagged and often blurred, without a clear watershed of “fundamental changes in the nature and significance of the king’s court” in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It has been observed, for instance, that elaborate rules of court etiquette such as would characterize a “closed” court society were already in evidence in the Majorcan court in the 1330s, and remained virtually unchanged in the Spanish court two centuries later, while the “open” and less scripted style of court, often associated with the Middle Ages, has been increasingly noted in later centuries as well.¹⁶⁵ Household and administration overlapped in Robert’s as in most medieval courts, but such overlap characterized as well the sixteenth-century court of Francis I, where Anne de Montmorency not only oversaw the household (through deputies, as at Robert’s court) but as Constable of France “virtually ran the government.” Such overlap has been perceived even later, in the royal court of seventeenth-century England.¹⁶⁶ Poses of majestic princely distance, for their part, were not necessarily new to the early-modern age.¹⁶⁷ Certainly royal courts altered over time—retinues increased notably, for instance, in the years around 1500—but they did not alter in all ways at once, creating a general and “fundamental” shift on the far side of 1450.

In the context of Robert’s reign, the character of his court appears well adapted to some primary ruling ends. The overlapping patterns of patronage in Robert’s Naples tied the royal court to the other major institutions of the capital and (in the cases of the Salernitan *studium* and the abbey of Cava, for instance) beyond the capital as well, drawing on their significant intellectual resources and solidifying their allegiance to the crown. Robert’s long sojourn in Provence facilitated a similar forging of links in this second major Angevin territory, as well as with the papal court. Furthermore, the often international careers of his courtiers linked the Angevin court even

¹⁶⁵ On the Majorcan rules of etiquette and their continuance, Paravicini, “Court of the Dukes,” 99; on courts’ continued openness in personnel and in less scripted ritual and etiquette, see recent works cited in Dean, “The Courts,” 143, 147–8.

¹⁶⁶ Knecht, “Court of Francis I,” 3; David Starkey, “Introduction: Court History in Perspective,” in *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. D. Starkey (London and New York, 1987), 12–16.

¹⁶⁷ Philip IV of France was noted for his distant bearing around 1300, Giangaleazzo Visconti in the later fourteenth century: see E.A.R. Brown, “The Prince is Father of the King: The Character and Childhood of Philip the Fair of France,” *Medieval Studies* 49 (1987), 282–334, and Dean, “The Courts,” 145.

more widely—to the Parisian *studium* where some had studied and taught, to the various corners of Italy from which many hailed—and facilitated the transfer of ideas to and from the Angevin capital. If fluid in its borders, however, Robert's court was also rather stable in its personnel, at least regarding its culturally distinguished members. A few scholars and artists left Robert's entourage after joining it: Arnald Royard to take up a higher ecclesiastical post in his native France, Pietro Cavallini and Giotto to undertake other artistic commissions. But most men who joined Robert's court stayed until their deaths, making his cultural circle considerably more permanent than, for instance, that of southern Italy's later "Renaissance" ruler, Alfonso of Aragon.¹⁶⁸ This stability doubtless has much to do with the paucity of other princely courts offering the same degree of cultural patronage. Once enmeshed in his circle, Robert's clients tended to stay, and hence served his government, publicized his virtues, and attracted yet further clients for rather long periods. In the end, both the openness of Robert's court structure and the stability of his cultural clients facilitated that central function of royal patronage discussed above: through their long royal service and wide connections, Robert's clients were well placed to develop and disseminate the king's lustrous royal image.

¹⁶⁸ On the often brief sojourns of learned clients at the court of Alfonso the Magnanimous of Aragon, see Jerry Bentley, *Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples* (Princeton, 1987), 47–62.

CHAPTER THREE

PIETY

The ideal of the pious king was a commonplace in medieval mirrors of princes, and an image which most kings sought to embody: regular prayer and confession, the patronage of religious houses, almsgiving, and similar activities were all standard practice. King Robert's interest in religious matters, however, was unusually strong. His collection of religious texts and extensive patronage of theologians, noted in the previous chapter, are one indication of this special interest. What is more, he composed treatises of his own on two difficult theological questions—apostolic poverty, and the nature of the Beatific Vision—and, by submitting them for papal review, participated publicly in the heated debates which surrounded those questions in the 1320s and 1330s. But the most remarkable witness of his interest in religious matters was his preaching. More than two hundred and fifty of his sermons survive, all of which follow the format used by trained theologians: opening with a biblical passage that serves as the theme, the sermon then expands upon the meanings of the passage's constituent words or phrases in a series of distinctions and subdistinctions.¹ These sermons were given on diverse occasions—for the reception of foreign ambassadors or conclusion of treaties, for conferral of degrees at the university of Naples, and on visits to religious communities, among others—and served a variety of political and ceremonial purposes, not least as demonstrations of the king's learning.² Many, however, were preached for no more pressing occasion than a feast day or simple Sunday, underscoring—as did the overtly clerical form of all the sermons—the pious cast of his oratory.³ So conspicuous was this homiletic activity that Dante, in

¹ Darleen Pryds, *The King Embodies the Word. Robert d'Anjou and the Politics of Preaching* (Leiden, 2000), 10–11.

² Pryds examines a number of these functions in chapters two through six of her study (see previous note), the first sustained analysis of Robert's preaching.

³ Cf. the catalogs by Walter Goetz, *König Robert von Neapel (1309–1343). Seine Persönlichkeit und sein Verhältnis zum Humanismus* (Tübingen, 1910), 47–68, and Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1550–1350*, vol. 5 (Münster, 1973), 196–219. The king's preaching will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Six below.

his *Paradiso*, dubbed Robert the “re da sermone,” or preaching king.⁴

Such activities indicate that a deep interest in religious matters was one of the hallmarks of Robert’s personality. Yet the nature of those interests and their influence on his reign have been much misunderstood. To most scholars, Robert was a partisan of Franciscan heretics, and indeed went so far as to sever his crucial alliance with the papacy in order to defend them. In fact, however, his religious involvements were almost wholly orthodox, and were oriented toward more classic royal goals. With the cooperation of his family and royal court, he cultivated links with all religious communities in an effort to inspire their allegiance to the crown; he promoted the cults of dynastic or local saints, a time-tested means of promoting subjects’ identification with realm and ruler. The king’s relationship with the papacy was a thornier issue, both because of the occasional strains in their political alliance and because Robert’s vassalage to the Church was seen by critics as a sign of his inferior status. It too, however, was cast by king and court as a virtue, and even a sign of his special sacrality. At the same time, the court promoted a second source of pious legitimacy independent of the pope: the sacred lineage, or *beata stirps*, which invested Robert with a holiness inherent in his blood.

All told, the evidence for Robert’s piety reveals the deep connections between religious and political issues in his reign, as the crown strove both to maneuver through the shoals of its papal relationship and to prove its legitimacy to subjects by portraying itself as pious, sacred, and devoted to its subjects. In the former goal Robert was successful. In the latter, indirect evidence suggests that many but not all subjects warmed to “Angevin” saints as a focal point of sacred-royal allegiance. Meanwhile, the court’s efforts in this direction were linked to, and helped foster, the further development of royal sacral imagery in other princely courts throughout Europe.

Defender of Heretics: A Reassessment

According to a very broad scholarly consensus, Robert’s religious interests were not only strong but radical: he is known as a devoted

⁴ Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy. III: Paradiso*, ed. and trans. J.D. Sinclair (Oxford and New York, 1939; repr. 1981), canto VIII, line 147.

partisan of the Spirituals, a group of Franciscans whose commitment to the ideal of absolute apostolic poverty led them into heresy. This devotion is often traced to Robert's youth, when he and his brothers, political hostages in Catalonia, were converted by their Spiritual Franciscan tutors, and corresponded with the famous Spiritual theorist Peter of John Olivi.⁵ Robert is supposed to have hidden this devotion in the early years of his reign in order to reap the political benefits of a close alliance with Pope John XXII, whose antipathy to the Spirituals was well known. When the conflict between the pope and the Franciscans came to a head in 1322–1323, however, Robert's tolerance is supposed to have reached its end. He defended the Franciscan ideal of poverty against the pope's condemnation, thus revealing his radical Franciscan sympathies and severing his papal alliance. This is depicted as a moment of both psychic unburdening and political liberation, in which Robert cast off a domineering papal lord to pursue his own, independent ends. One of these ends was open support for the heretical Franciscans, or *fraticelli*,⁶ whom in subsequent years Robert is said to have sheltered in his kingdom and even in his royal court in defiance of papal orders. But scholars have sometimes assumed that Robert's whole ruling strategy altered after this rupture with the papacy, as he adopted a more nationalistic and anti-papal policy, and replaced the orthodox theologians in his entourage with men of radical Franciscan or lay humanist sensibilities.

⁵ One also occasionally finds mentions of Arnau of Villanova as evidence of Robert's early contacts with Spirituals (for example, Welbore St.Clair Baddeley, *Robert the Wise and His Heirs* [London, 1897], 16, 159). But this is not a key element in the argument, and for good reason. First, the authorship of the two works which Arnau is supposed to have dedicated to Robert, *De vinis* and *De conservanda iuventute*, remains uncertain. Second, even if they were Arnau's, they would prove only Robert's interest in Arnau's medical studies, not in his religious views. Third, the fact that Arnau was in the service of Robert's sometime enemies, the kings of Aragon, makes any personal friendship between the two men unlikely. In 1309, for instance, Arnau was attempting to wrest from Robert the crown of Jerusalem and acquire it for his lord, the king of Aragon. See Romolo Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò e i suoi tempi*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1922–30), 1: 110, and Michael McVaugh, "Two Texts, One Problem: The Authorship of the *Antidotarium* and *De venenis* attributed to Arnau of Villanova," *Arxiu de textos catalans antics* 14 (1995), 82–83.

⁶ I use the term "fraticelli" to refer to both the Spiritual Franciscans, who advocated a life of literal absolute poverty, and those Franciscans (generally called Michaelists, after their leader Michael of Cesena) who supported only on a theoretical level the superiority of poverty, but who joined the Spirituals in heresy after the papal condemnation of 1324. The relationship between these two groups will become clearer in the pages to follow.

This basic narrative recurs in both standard surveys and specialized studies of Angevin politics,⁷ culture,⁸ religion,⁹ ideology,¹⁰ and art,¹¹ and has been echoed in a wide variety of related works on Franciscan history, heresy, and papal politics, to name a few.¹² As Roberto Paciocco recently noted, “if any scholar—even one only marginally engaged with the history of Angevin Naples or of the Franciscan Order—were asked about the links between the Angevin dynasty and the Spirituals, his response, in all likelihood, would be

⁷ Émile Léonard identifies a permanent rupture between king and pope in the years 1322–24, and maintains that Robert’s devotion to the fraticelli influenced much of his later political action: see *Les Angevins de Naples* (Paris, 1954), 234, 240–48. According to Carlo de Frede, “already before the conflict with Pope John XXII placed the king openly on the side of the Spirituals, his education, the piety of his mother, and the vocation of his brother influenced him in this direction. Thereafter, when the controversy between the rigorous and lax wings of the order reopened, the king took an active part in it, favoring without hesitation the rigorist movement.” See “Da Carlo I d’Angiò a Giovanna I,” in *Storia di Napoli*, vol. 3 (Naples, 1969), 209.

⁸ Federico Sabatini argues that Robert’s pro-Spiritual stance in the poverty debate was influenced by his lifelong connection to that faction, and that “this latent political conflict with the papacy promptly came into the open a few years later”: see “La cultura nell’età angioina,” in *Storia di Napoli*, vol. 4 (Naples, 1974), 69.

⁹ Domenico Ambrasi writes that “Robert certainly did not hide his very strong sympathies for the fraticelli; he hosted them at court and protected them openly even in the face of the pope”: see “La vita religiosa,” in *Storia di Napoli*, vol. 3 (Naples, 1969), 508. Ronald Musto argues that “the king’s *De paupertate* of 1332 [*sic*] was a capable and rigorous defense of the Spiritual position on poverty” and that “Robert and Sancia continued their adamant support of the Spirituals and granted protection to refugee fraticelli after their condemnation”: see “Queen Sancia of Naples (1286–1345) and the Spiritual Franciscans,” in *Women of the Medieval World. Essays in Honor of J. H. Mundy*, ed. Julius Kirschner and Suzanne Wemple (Oxford, 1985), 193–4. Musto has reaffirmed this view more recently in “Franciscan Joachimism at the Court of Naples, 1309–1345: A New Appraisal,” *AFH* 90 (1997), 422, 483.

¹⁰ Alessandro Barbero offers one of the most concise and comprehensive articulations of this view: the “fervid relations with the Spirituals” that originated in Robert’s childhood, the suppression of this sympathy in the early years of his reign, the rupture with the papacy over this issue in 1322–23, and, thereafter, Robert’s open support for the fraticelli, accompanied by a radical alteration of his politics and court culture from orthodox to radical Franciscan, humanist, and nationalist. See *Il mito angioino nella cultura italiana e provenzale fra Duecento e Trecento* (Turin, 1983), 144–46, 150–52.

¹¹ See Ferdinando Bologna, *I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli, 1266–1414* (Rome, 1969), 157–170, which recapitulates the story of Robert’s connections with the fraticelli in great detail.

¹² H. Otto, “Zur italienischen Politik Johanns XXII.,” *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven* 14 (1911), 181–187; Decima Douie, *The Nature and Effect of the Fraticelli* (Manchester, 1932), 211; Duncan Nimmo, *Reform and Division in the Medieval Franciscan Order* (Rome, 1987).

to describe the rulers' behavior as hovering between open support and conniving protection of the Franciscan dissidents that go under the name of Spirituals"—a response that Paciocco too considers "widely confirmed, especially for the years of Robert's reign."¹³

This argument, however, rests on a selective examination of the evidence and on much conjecture.¹⁴ Regarding Robert's early religious formation, there is little indication that his Franciscan tutors were devoted to the Spirituals' cause, and no evidence that Robert adopted such a view in his youth.¹⁵ If anything, his early years appear to have been more influenced by the presence at court of Jacques Duèse, the future Pope John XXII. A familiar of Robert's father and administrator of the Angevin county of Provence, he became chancellor of the Kingdom of Naples in 1305, and served for the next four years as Robert's personal counsellor as well.¹⁶ As such Jacques accompanied Robert to Avignon for the prince's coronation in 1309; in turn, Robert lobbied intensively during the papal vacancy of 1314–1316 for Jacques' election, which occurred in August 1316.¹⁷ Jacques, now Pope John XXII, was seventy-two. King Robert was thirty-eight. Their friendship, in many ways more like a filial bond, had existed now for twenty years.

John XXII's hostility to the Spirituals' literal interpretation of poverty and to the ideal of apostolic poverty generally is well known.

¹³ Roberto Paciocco, "Angioni e 'Spirituali'. I differenti piani cronologici e tematici di un problema," in *L'État angevin. Pouvoir, culture, et société entre XIII^e et XIV^e siècle* (Rome, 1998), 253.

¹⁴ A more detailed reassessment of the "Spiritual" argument is found in Samantha Kelly, "Robert of Naples (1309–1343) and the Spiritual Franciscans," *Cristianesimo nella storia* 20 (1999), 41–80.

¹⁵ Robert's brother Louis became a Franciscan friar shortly after the princes' release from captivity in 1295, and strove to live a simple, poor life, but the princes' tutors both tried to dissuade him from this plan. The evidence collected for Louis' canonization proceedings is set out in *Processus canonizatione et legendae variae S. Ludovico OFM*, *Analecta franciscana*, 7 (Quaracchi, 1951), 103–104, and in J. Paul, "St. Louis d'Anjou, franciscain et évêque de Toulouse (1274–1297)," in *Les évêques, les clercs, et le roi (1250–1300)*, *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, 7 (Toulouse, 1972), 70, 72.

¹⁶ On his early career, see Noël Valois, "Jacques Duèse," in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. 34 (Paris, 1915), 391–403, and (on his role as Robert's counsellor) David Anderson, "'Dominus Ludovicus' in the Sermons of Jacobus of Viterbo (Arch. S. Pietro D. 213)," in *Literature and Religion in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. R. Newhauser and J. Alford (Binghamton, NY, 1995), 295.

¹⁷ Several eye-witnesses to the papal consistory, including Ferreto da Vicenza and the Aragonese ambassador Arnal de Comes, noted Robert's role in the election. See Valois, "Jacques Duèse," 405.

In the bull *Quorundam exigit* of October, 1317, he declared that obedience was a higher virtue than poverty, a statement on which all Franciscans were questioned and whose refusal became the measure of Spiritual allegiance. Two other bulls condemning the Spirituals' beliefs and behavior followed in quick succession.¹⁸ The consequent persecution reached a high-water mark in May 1318, when four recalcitrant Spirituals were burned at the stake in Marseille.¹⁹ Far from balking at this attack on the Spirituals, Robert collaborated closely the pope in these years. The two worked together on a common political program, extending Robert's influence in northern Italy and opposing such common enemies as the Visconti of Milan and Frederick, ruler of rebel Sicily.²⁰ They also exchanged special favors. Within a year of his election John XXII appointed Robert papal vicar in northern Italy, thus following through on a promise left unfulfilled by his predecessor; he also fulfilled another long-held Angevin wish by canonizing Robert's brother, Louis of Anjou, in 1317.²¹ Robert, for his part, made the pope's nephew his "marshal, counsellor, and familiar," and endowed him with lands in the Regno in November of the same year.²² Two years later Robert dramatically demonstrated his intimate alliance with the papacy by moving to Avignon, accompanied by his queen and a complement of advisors, chaplains, and servants. He remained in the papal city, meeting frequently with the pope, from 1319 to 1324.

Some scholars have discounted the evidence of this close collaboration, arguing that Robert merely dissimulated his true sympathy for the Spirituals in order to reap the political benefits of a papal alliance. The wider circle of Robert's colleagues and counsellors in these years, however, confirms the king's conservative, anti-Spiritual stance. This circle includes Michael of Cesena, the Franciscan Minister

¹⁸ These were *Sancta Romana* of 30 December 1317 and *Gloriosam ecclesiam* of 23 January 1318.

¹⁹ On the trial and burning of these four Spirituals, see Raoul Manselli, *Spirituali e beghini in Provenza* (Rome, 1959), 150–178.

²⁰ On their close alliance in these years, see Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*, 230–231.

²¹ Gennaro Maria Monti, "La dottrina anti-imperiale degli angioini de Napoli: I loro vicariati imperiali e Bartolomeo di Capua," in *Studi in onore di A. Solmi*, vol. 2 (Milan, 1940), 37–39; on Louis' long canonization proceedings, Edith Pásztor, *Per la storia di San Ludovico d'Angiò (1274–1297)* (Rome, 1955).

²² Camillo Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia di Carlo II, re di Napoli," *ASP* 7 (1882), 261.

General who spearheaded attacks on the Spirituals within his order, and such royal courtiers as Arnald Royard, Guglielmo da Sarzano, and Paolino da Venezia, all Franciscans with well-documented histories of active opposition to the heretics.²³

The height of the poverty controversy came during Robert's sojourn in Avignon, when John XXII shifted from persecution of Spiritual Franciscans to an attack on a founding principle of the order as a whole. All Franciscans, Spiritual or otherwise, held that Christ and the apostles had possessed nothing and that this absolute poverty represented the highest spiritual perfection. Moreover, even the most "Conventual" (i.e. anti-Spiritual) Franciscans, who did not live in literal poverty, believed that they met this standard thanks to a legal fiction whereby the Holy See officially owned the possessions that Franciscans merely used. The Franciscan Order's claim to spiritual superiority had long been a point of rancor for the Dominicans, who held that poverty was not perfection itself but merely one means to perfection. John XXII was clearly leaning toward the Dominican position on this theoretical question as early as 1317, when he declared poverty a lesser virtue than both chastity and obedience, but in March 1322 he brought this broader theoretical issue to the fore. Dispensing with the papal ruling (pronounced by Nicholas III in the bull *Exiit qui seminat* of 1279) that the question of poverty be forever closed to further discussion, John XXII inaugurated an open debate inquiring whether it was heretical or not to assert that Christ and the apostles had possessed nothing. The grave consequences of the question were apparent to all. While the pope solicited the opinions of select prelates and theological masters on the question, many more throughout Western Europe followed the debate and composed opinions of their own.

Robert was one of those observers who composed an unsolicited tract on the question. His treatise was, however, very far from a declaration of Spiritual sympathies. Like Arnald Royard, who was residing with Robert in Avignon and whose opinion had been solicited by the pope; like Monaldo Monaldeschi, Archbishop of Benevento and member of Robert's secret council; like the great Angevin publicist François de Meyronnes, who debated the question as a student

²³ The documentation on their careers and connection to Robert's circle comes from diverse sources; for a full bibliography see Kelly, "Robert of Naples and the Spiritual Franciscans," 52–53.

of theology in Paris; like Bertrand de Turre, Michael of Cesena, and all other Franciscans, including the most vehemently anti-Spiritual, Robert defended apostolic poverty as a true and orthodox belief.²⁴ In the context of the open debate, it was perfectly licit to do so. Indeed, since the principle had been approved by Pope Nicholas III and had passed into canon law, their position may well have seemed more authoritative than its opposite. John XXII's feelings were clear by December 1322, when he declared in the bull *Ad conditorem* that the papacy would no longer assume legal possession of goods used by the Franciscan Order. But only in November 1323, with the publication of *Cum inter nonnullos*, did it become heretical to uphold the principle that Christ and the apostles had possessed nothing.

Forced to choose between the twin virtues cherished by their founder, poverty and obedience, some in the order chose poverty. Known as the *fraticelli de opinione* for the theoretical grounds of their deviance, they joined their Spiritual brethren in heresy. As for those in Robert's circle, evidence indicates that the choice was difficult for some of them, but all who remained in the king's graces also remained in the pope's: they chose obedience.²⁵ For Robert, of course, the ruling did not involve the same personal consequences. As he stated in the preamble of his work, he decided to treat the question because he discovered, upon arriving in Avignon, that it was the current topic of debate—an assertion that precludes the notion of any deep or long-held commitment to the principles at stake—and then made clear that he submitted his work “completely to the emendation of the most holy and highest pontiff, for truly we acknowledge him the vicar and successor of Christ, to whom all judgment is reserved.”²⁶

²⁴ The unique manuscript copy of the treatise is Paris, BN, MS lat. 4046, fols. 72v–82r. The copy is corrupt and its readings difficult to follow, and no full edition of it exists. Giovanni Battista Siragusa offers a partial transcription in *L'ingegno, il sapere, e gli intendimenti di Roberto d'Angiò* (Palermo, 1891), appendix V (pp. xiii–xxvii), but even this contains numerous errors. Sigismund Brettle has analyzed the tract in “Ein Traktat des Königs Robert von Neapel, ‘De evangelica paupertate,’” in *Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der mittleren und neueren Geschichte und ihrer Hilfswissenschaften* (Münster i. W., 1925), 200–208; he, like most others, mistakenly identifies Robert's pro-Franciscan position as a pro-Spiritual one.

²⁵ These include Arnald Royard, Monaldo Monaldeschi, Paolino da Venezia, François de Meyronnes, and Guglielmo da Sarzano. Several works on poverty by the last two indicate the internal conflict the ruling generated for them. See Kelly, “Robert of Naples and the Spiritual Franciscans,” 56–59.

²⁶ “Cum nobis ad curiam venientibus audiremus quod vulgarice famatur questionem qua queritur utrum dicere Christum et apostolos habuisse in comuni sit

When the pope's judgment was pronounced, Robert accepted it as promised, continuing to reside in Avignon and to collaborate politically with the pope, for instance regarding Robert's control in Piedmont, until the summer of 1324.²⁷

Far from being a breaking point in Angevin-papal relations, the pope's condemnation of poverty appears to have had no effect whatever on their alliance. If anything, Robert's and his court's antipathy to Franciscan heresy grew more pronounced as the heresy became associated with the Angevin's new rival, Ludwig of Bavaria. At odds with the papacy since 1322, when he became the likely candidate for emperor, Ludwig was excommunicated for his support of Italian Ghibellines in 1324. His status as a papal enemy attracted rebel Franciscans to his court, and Ludwig soon took up their cause, declaring John XXII a heretic in May 1324 for his stance on apostolic poverty.²⁸ Already an enemy of the papacy and of the Guelfs in Italy, Ludwig made himself Robert's personal enemy during his Italian campaign of 1327–30. Reaching Rome on 7 January 1328, Ludwig defeated the Angevin forces led by Robert's brother, John of Durazzo,

hereticum . . . disceremus questionem ipsam. . . . Sed cuncta que ex scripturis sacris inseremus ex toto emendationi sanctissimi summique pontifici prefati submicimus, ipsum etenim vicarium et successorem agnoscimus Christi, cui omne iudicium reservatur." Paris, BN, MS lat. 4046, at fol. 72v. I have emended some of the readings of Siragusa's partial edition (see above, n. 24) to ones that seem to me both more faithful to the manuscript witness and more grammatically correct.

²⁷ In his *Appellatio maior* of 1328, Michael of Cesena wrote that Robert supported apostolic poverty not only during the course of the debate, but even after *Cum inter nonnullos*, and indeed urged the subsequent Franciscan Chapter General in Bologna to stay true to this ideal: "In cuius veritate confessione ipse Dominus rex [Robertus] semper fuit etiam post determinationem D. Joannis, sicut etiam patuit ex ipsius literis et nunciis destinatis fratribus dicti ordinis congregatis in capituli generali . . . Bononie . . . quibus fratribus ipse D. rex misit, quod diffinitionem seu determinationem Ecclesie, quam generale capitulum dicti ordinis olim apud Perusium congregatum fecerat de paupertate Christi et apostolorum, propterea cuiuscumque mandatum aut praeceptum nullatenus revocarent": in *Miscellanea novo ordine digesta*, ed. S. Baluze and J. Mansi, vol. 3 (Lucca, 1762), 271. While Michael of Cesena's testimony cannot be ignored, it nevertheless runs counter to all Robert's known actions in this period. It seems likely that Michael—recently escaped from papal detention and condemned by the pope when he wrote these words—invented supporters where he did not have them; in which case Robert, who had influence with John XXII and who had expressed pro-poverty views a few years earlier, would have sprung quickly to mind.

²⁸ These events are summarized in Peter Herde, "The Empire: From Adolf of Nassau to Lewis of Bavaria," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. Michael Jones (Cambridge, 2000), vol. 6, 538–542, and, with more attention to Robert's involvement, in Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*, 248–257.

that defended the city against him. He was crowned in Santa Maria Maggiore on 17 January; deposed Pope John XXII on 18 April; appointed an antipope, the rebel Franciscan Peter of Corvara, on 12 May, and a few days later condemned Robert as a rebel vassal of the Empire. The following month Michael of Cesena, under suspicion and detained in Avignon at the pope's order, fled by night with two companions and arrived in Pisa to join Ludwig's entourage and add his voice to the cause of his new protector.²⁹

Ludwig's Italian campaign posed a major threat to Guelf interests throughout Italy, and with the deposition of King Robert an invasion of the Regno, too, seemed imminent. In addition to defensive military measures, the Angevin court launched a propaganda campaign against the Bavarian that made much of his and his followers' heresy. In March 1328, the archbishop of Capua declared a crusade against Ludwig.³⁰ The Franciscan Andrea da Perugia composed his polemical *Contra Edictum Bavari* at Robert's court in the same year.³¹ The Dominican Giovanni Regina preached two sermons against Ludwig's cortège, the first portraying the Angevin army as "the people of God . . . against the notorious enemy of the Church of God, excommunicated and damned," the second celebrating the fall of Ludwig's heretical antipope Peter of Corvara.³²

In short, for the first twenty years of Robert's reign and through the most dramatic events of the struggle over Franciscan poverty—

²⁹ These events are narrated in Karl Müller, *Der Kampf Ludwigs des Baiern mit der römischen Curie*, vol. 1 (Tübingen, 1879), 178–211.

³⁰ Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 2: 108. Twenty pages later Caggese states that it was the election of Peter of Corvara that weakened Robert's sympathy for Michael of Cesena and the other rebel Franciscans, yet, as Caggese himself noted, the crusade against them had been declared in Naples two months earlier.

³¹ For a partial edition and discussion of Andrea's treatise, see Richard Scholz, *Unbekannte kirchenpolitische Streitschriften aus der Zeit Ludwigs des Bayern*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1911), 30–32, and vol. 2 (Rome, 1914), 64–75.

³² Giovanni's sermons are in Naples, Bibl. Naz., MS VIII AA 11. The first, inc. "*Salvum fac populum tuum, Domine* (Ps. [27:9])," reads at fol. 69v, "totus exercitus domini ducis generaliter est populus Dei . . . [et] est in servicio Ecclesie Dei, utpote contra notorium inimicum Ecclesie Dei et excommunicatum et dampnatum ut hereticum per papam qui est vicarius Dei." Though neither the duke nor the enemy is named, process of elimination—the sermon must date from after 1315, the dux must be, as Giovanni specifies later in the sermon, a member of the royal family, and the enemy must be a condemned heretic—makes it all but certain that the sermon refers to the expedition of John of Durazzo and Charles of Calabria against Ludwig in April 1328. The second sermon, bearing the rubric "ad publicandum revocationem Petri antipape," is found in the same manuscript, at fols. 71v–72v.

the intense persecution of Spirituals in the 1310s, the theoretical poverty debate of 1322–23, the creation of the *fraticelli de opinione* and their alliance with Ludwig of Bavaria—Robert was consistently hostile to the Franciscan heretics. In the following few years, however, signs of support for the fraticelli emerge in the circle of Robert's queen, Sancia. Since they are the only evidence of open Angevin support for the heretics, it is worth scrutinizing them more closely. The first expressions of radical Franciscan sympathies date from 1329. In a letter written in March of that year to the Franciscan Chapter General, the queen voiced fairly open support for the rebel Michael of Cesena and the ideal of Franciscan poverty.³³ Soon thereafter, a Franciscan friar named Andrea da Gagliano, under suspicion for heresy, fled to Naples where the queen installed him as a priest of Santa Chiara and her personal chaplain. In December 1329 Sancia's brother Philip, newly arrived in Naples, preached a sermon defending the fraticelli's devotion to poverty and attacking John XXII as unworthy of office.³⁴ None of this drew particular attention from Church authorities. A full year after Philip's sermon, the pope sent a standard letter to Robert as to other European princes about pursuing heretics in his kingdom; regarding Philip, he mentioned only the prince's request to found a new religious order.³⁵ In mid-1331 tensions began to mount. In July and August, the pope wrote to Robert urging him, with increasing frustration, to publish papal bulls against the fraticelli and proceed against them with all speed.³⁶ In August Sancia received a papal letter regarding her erroneous opinions on poverty.³⁷ By October, the new Franciscan Minister General, Guiral Ot, was in Naples collecting testimony against Andrea da Gagliano and another chaplain of the queen, Pedro de Cadenuto.³⁸

³³ The letter is edited in *Chronica XXIV generalium ordinis minorum*, *Analecta franciscana*, 3 (Quaracchi, 1897), 508–514, and translated in Musto, "Queen Sancia," 207–214.

³⁴ The sermon is printed in Francesco Tocco, *Studi Francescani* (Naples, 1909), 297–310.

³⁵ Conrad Eubel, ed., *Bull. Franc.*, vol. 5 (Rome, 1898), no. 891, dated 12 December 1330.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, nos. 916 and 924, dated 8 July and 10 August 1331.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 923 (August 1331).

³⁸ The best information on their trial is found in Edith Pásztor, "Il processo di Andrea di Gagliano," *AFH* 48 (1955), 252–297. See also J.M. Vidal's comments in *Bullaire de l'inquisition française au XIV^e siècle jusqu'à la fin du grand schisme* (Paris, 1913), 243–245, and Conrad Eubel's in *Bull. Franc.*, vol. 5, 544n. Apart from Pedro's inclusion in this trial and his death soon thereafter, little is known of him.

Doubtless aware that formal proceedings against these chaplains would represent an attack on the court, Guiral Ot awaited papal approval, which came a month later when John XXII assumed personal control of their trial. From November 1331 to April 1333, as the trial proceeded, hostilities between the Holy See and the Angevin court were at their height. In June 1332, the pope felt constrained to write to Sancia urging her back to the path of salvation.³⁹ In August, a fight apparently erupted at the Franciscan provincial chapter between Guiral Ot and a herald sent by the queen, for the pope was soon investigating Ot's "real and verbal injuries" to the nuncio and simultaneously reprimanding Sancia for the "infecting virus of her illness"—that is, her unorthodox views—as he had heard from the assembled Franciscans.⁴⁰ While collecting testimony for the chaplains' defense and openly antagonizing the Minister General, Sancia was also reputedly harboring heretics in Castel Littere just south of Naples, as witnesses later testified.⁴¹

Yet within a few months the crisis was clearly on the path to resolution. In December 1332 the pope wrote to Robert and Sancia that he was holding the chaplains' trial in abeyance, due to new documents sent by some Angevin ambassadors. By April 1333 they had been acquitted, and by 1334 papal letters were discussing the absolution of fraticelli in the Regno who had returned to obedience, not the persecution, or royal protection, of ones still obdurate.⁴² The whole affair lasted some four years, with the real crisis concentrated in the period between summer 1331 and December 1332.

One notable aspect of this episode is its clear focus on Sancia. Suspected heretical activity was attributed specifically to her influence, and most admonitions were addressed directly to her.⁴³ Furthermore,

³⁹ *Bull. Franc.*, vol. 5, no. 982: "te per viam rectam sub timore et amore divinis dirigere gressus tuos . . . rogamus. . . Si malorum et perversorum serpentinis decepta seductionis in devium declinaveris, ab illo te statim retrahas et ad viam salutis dirigas."

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, nos. 990 and 992.

⁴¹ This testimony came out in a second trial of Andrea da Gagliano, in 1337–1338: see Pásztor, "Il processo," 263. When these fraticelli were supposed to be in Castel Littere is unclear. Nimmo (*Reform and Division*, 261), specifies 1332–1333; Pásztor says only "in the last years of John XXII's pontificate," which ended in 1334.

⁴² E.g., *Bull. Franc.*, vol. 5, no. 1062 (April 22, 1334).

⁴³ Pásztor, "Il processo," and, following her, Musto, "Queen Sancia," describe Andrea da Gagliano as a *familiaris* of both Robert and Sancia, but this is an unfounded extrapolation. The trial records published by Pásztor describe him as

the convent of Santa Chiara, which harbored the accused heretic Andrea da Gagliano, was the queen's precinct: despite scholarly assertions that its foundation was a joint enterprise of Sancia and Robert, contemporary documents clearly state that the church and monastery were founded by the queen and constructed and maintained out of her personal income.⁴⁴ All evidence indicates that Sancia was a formidably pious and independent-minded woman. She wrote several times to convened chapters of the Franciscan Order, and twice she requested papal permission to enter a convent during her husband's lifetime, spurring the pope to urge her to a more matrimonial frame of mind.⁴⁵ In the later years of her reign she established, funded, and organized the personnel of three more convents: Santa Croce, the Clarissan monastery to which she eventually retired, and two convents for penitent prostitutes, S. Maria Magdala and S. Maria Egiziaca.⁴⁶ It is thus in keeping with her character and abilities that she spearheaded a defense of suspect Franciscans in the kingdom. Yet though she professed a sincere commitment to Franciscan poverty as early as 1316, she had done nothing to publicly support the *fratelli de opinione* in the six years since their ideal had been condemned—much less the Spirituals, who had been persecuted for decades. She

"consiliarius, cappellanus et secretarius domine nostre regine Sicilie"; papal letters refer to both chaplains as "protecti a regina Sicilie" (for instance, the notice of their acquittal, *Bull. Franc.*, vol. 5, no. 1017).

⁴⁴ Pope Clement V accepted her request to found the whole complex (church, monastery, and other buildings) "[quos] construere proponebas propriis sumptibus, et expensis, ac possessiones accomodas . . . ex quibus possent commode sustentari, de propriis bonis tuis." In 1315, Robert approved Sancia's right to enter the convent (officially known as Corpus Christi) if she outlived him, noting that she had, with this intention, already founded the convent—"qua intentione inspirata divinitus . . . jam fundavit and construi fecit solemne monasterium Hostiae Sanctae"—and which was to be supported from the income of lands that were hers "dote et dotarium." In 1317 it was Sancia who paid the architect, or "prothomagister operis Sancti Corporis Christi," with some land; in 1321 she noted that its "domos et ecclesias aedificatas [sunt] per nos," and assigned it an annual income of 40 ounces gold to be taken "de juribus et redditibus certarum terrarum nostrorum." All documents cited in Benedetto Spila, *Un monumento di Sancia a Napoli* (Naples, 1901), 68–9, 53, 76, 70.

⁴⁵ Her letters to the Franciscans are published in Musto, "Queen Sancia," who also notes her two requests to enter the convent of Santa Chiara, in 1317 and 1337. The pope's response to the first request is edited in Baddeley, *Robert the Wise*, 162–163.

⁴⁶ Spila, *Un monumento*, 57–59. A papal letter of 1338 gave Sancia permission to found Santa Croce, and to invite to it from Assisi several relatives of Saint Clare herself. Work on S. Maria Egiziaca began in 1335; S. Maria Magdala was apparently founded earlier.

remained silent even regarding Michael of Cesena for a year after his escape from prison, while the king and queen of France, by contrast, were pleading Michael's case and criticizing John XXII's behavior.⁴⁷

Meanwhile, her husband stood as aloof as possible from the fray. Some Franciscan bishops in the king's entourage prosecuted heretics in these years, which suggests a minimal gesture at compliance on Robert's part.⁴⁸ Regarding Sancia's provocative actions, he neither joined her nor censured her. And while he worked for a swift acquittal of Sancia's chaplains, his main interest in the affair was not the friars' fate but the honor of his queen.⁴⁹ Thus even these years offer no evidence of the king's sympathy for radical Franciscans or their cause. The odd turn of events in these years does, however, require some explanation. Why did a queen with longstanding devotion to the Franciscans suddenly voice her allegiance to their heretical wing now? Why did a king who had always opposed heretics now tolerate their presence in the bosom of the royal family, to the great scandal of the pope? Though fraticelli had certainly resided in the kingdom beforehand, and presumably survived thereafter, the unprecedented tensions between John XXII and the Angevins over the fraticelli were short-lived.

⁴⁷ Luke Wadding, (*Annales*, vol. 7, ann. 1328, n. 86) writes that the king and queen of France, the king of Aragon, the king and queen of England, and Robert and Sancia of Naples all intervened with the pope on behalf of the deposed Michael of Cesena. Douie, *Heresy of the Fraticelli*, 169, cites Wadding on this point. However, the only papal letters referring to such interventions regard the king and queen of France alone: see *Bull. Franc.*, vol. 5, no. 715 ("Regi Francie, qui pro Michael de Cesena supplicavit"), and nos. 721 and 721a (addressing the king and queen separately on the same matter of Michael's rightful deposition). Douie adds that at the time of Michael's deposition in 1328 Sancia sent a letter to the pope defending Michael. No such letter survives, and Douie's source (*Bull. Franc.*, vol. 5, via Valois, "Jacques Duèse") turns out to be the pope's response to Sancia of September 1331. In short, Sancia's letter almost certainly dates from the very period of crisis under consideration.

⁴⁸ On Paolino's capture of heretics in 1330, see Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 2: 377n. For Landulfo, *Bull. Franc.*, vol. 5, n. 963 (February 1332), where the pope thanks the bishop for his efforts.

⁴⁹ Robert apparently used a contemporary issue—the pope's own suspect sermons on the nature of the Beatific Vision—to get the trial concluded: see below at nn. 56–57. In absolving the chaplains in April 1333, the pope noted Robert's concern that the friars be reinstituted for the sake of the queen's honor: "in primis videter circumspectione regie quod fratres prefati ad actus legitimos ob ipsius regine honorem restitui debeant," *Bull. Franc.*, vol. 5, no. 1016.

Furthermore, and here doubtless lies the key to the mystery, those doctrinal tensions were coterminous with an equally unprecedented change in the pope's political strategies.⁵⁰ Near the end of Ludwig's Italian campaign—between 1328 and 1330—John XXII had come to an agreement with Philip VI of France in which Philip (and not, as before, Robert) would be the papal champion in northern Italy. He was to be offered the “kingdom of Lombardy,” including the cities of Reggio, Parma, and Modena.⁵¹ This arrangement was soon complicated, however, by John of Bohemia, son of that Emperor Henry VII so beloved of Italian Ghibellines, who was offered the signory of Brescia in 1330 and almost by accident found himself lord of most of Lombardy by February 1331. Faced with a *fait accompli*, the papal legate in Italy ceded to John the “Kingdom of Lombardy” (Reggio, Parma, Modena) previously promised to Philip VI. John left Italy in June, and Robert, who had doubtless been tracking the pope's activities, asked him where the Bohemian had gone. The pope responded (in a letter that also mentioned Sancia's doctrinal errors) that he didn't know, and quickly changed the subject.⁵² Where John had gone, in fact, was to treat with Philip VI and with the pope himself over a division of the contested territory.

This was the very summer when overt conflict between the pope and the Angevin court over heresy first emerged. It was also the moment when Robert first showed himself favorable to a Ghibelline alliance then forming in the north against the Bohemian. And just as the papal-Angevin tensions over heresy reached their height in 1332, so did this political situation. In January 1332, the pope agreed to a deal in which John received the Kingdom of Lombardy and Philip, in recompense, the Kingdom of Arles. It was a deal, as Émile Léonard has observed, that sacrificed Robert twice, in both his northern Italian and Provençal spheres of influence.⁵³ Robert's response

⁵⁰ The following political events are discussed in Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*, 261–265; Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 2: 149–162, and Paul Fournier, *Le Royaume d'Arles et de Vienne, 1138–1378* (Paris, 1891), 391–405.

⁵¹ The exact date of these negotiations is unclear. Léonard (*Les Angevins*, 261) locates it simply “in the grave hours of Ludwig's descent”; Fournier (*Le royaume*, 391–392) between 1328 and 1331. Caggese (*Roberto d'Angiò*, 2: 147–148) notes talks between the pope and Philip VI in Avignon in July 1330.

⁵² The letter to Robert is *Bull. Franc.*, vol. 5, no. 924.

⁵³ Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*, 262. Caggese (*Roberto d'Angiò*, 2: 153) also gives this date. Fournier (*Le royaume*, 393–394) states that this deal, proposed in January,

inaugurated one of the most unusual political alignments in the history of medieval Italy: he and his Guelf allies formally allied with their traditional enemies, the Ghibelline cities of the north, against “whoever comes to trouble the peace in Italy, including the Empire and the Church.”⁵⁴ The Bohemian’s failure to recapture the rebellious Lombard cities led to his retreat in June 1333, and after an abortive attempt to resuscitate his Franco-papal alliance in December, he abandoned his ambitious plans.⁵⁵ Thus the political episode, like that of the Neapolitan fraticelli, came rather swiftly to a close.

Not only had the pope quite uncharacteristically become Robert’s enemy in these years; he had unwittingly placed his own orthodoxy in doubt. In two sermons given in November and December, 1331, John XXII discussed the Beatific Vision in terms that were promptly and nearly universally condemned by European theologians.⁵⁶ Perhaps sensing his vulnerability, the pope sent his sermons to Robert in the first half of 1332. Robert, with careful propriety, requested permission to refute the pope’s theological opinion, and John XXII, though agreeing, tried to strengthen his case by sending along a list of one hundred supporting authorities in September. Robert’s treatise was brought to the pope in two installments of autumn 1332 and January 1333. If Robert’s first treatise on poverty was essentially a showcase of his learning, this second work, equally erudite, served a more pointed purpose as a diplomatic tool. The ambassadors who brought it to Avignon were also charged with negotiating the trial of the suspected Angevin chaplains. The weapon of the Beatific Vision controversy seems to have been effective in these negotiations, for after

was not finalized until later in the year; even if so, the negotiations themselves would have been justifiable basis for Robert’s fears. The “Kingdom of Arles” corresponded roughly to the more southerly portions of the ancient Kingdom of Burgundy, including Provence, Savoy, the Lyonnais and the Dauphiné: see Fournier, xxi–xxii.

⁵⁴ Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*, 262.

⁵⁵ At the end of 1333 John of Bohemia proposed to the pope that his son, Henry of Bavaria, assume the imperial throne that Ludwig of Bavaria seemed willing to abdicate, and to elicit French support for the plan, John again promised the Kingdom of Arles to Philip VI. But the pope, faced with the protests of Robert, the city of Florence, the King of Hungary and Ludwig himself, soon rejected John’s proposition. See Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*, 267–268, and Fournier, *Le royaume*, 400.

⁵⁶ He argued that the dead, including the saints, do not see the face of God until the Last Judgement. The fullest and most recent discussion of the Beatific Vision debate is Christian Trottman, *La vision béatifique: Des disputes scolastiques à sa définition par Benoît XII* (Rome, 1995).

receiving the ambassadors and Robert's treatise, John XXII wrote to the king that he was holding the trial of the two Angevin chaplains in abeyance.⁵⁷

In this context, limited Angevin support for the fraticelli makes sense as part of a larger political and diplomatic change in relations with the papacy. In response to the pope's political antagonism to Angevin interests, the crown not only allied with the papacy's traditional Ghibelline enemies, but made known, in the person of the queen, its sympathy for the fraticelli and their tradition of powerful anti-papal polemic. Both acts served as threats rather than overt declarations of enmity. Robert, with the Pan-Italian league, would oppose the Church should it persist in its Franco-Bohemian alliance; the crown was poised to openly ally with heretics, as Sancia's acts made clear, but Robert himself still remained neutral. The pope's suddenly questionable orthodoxy was, for Robert, a fortuitous turn of events, which he exploited to the full, composing a treatise that demonstrated the weakness of the pope's position and using it to negotiate the acquittal of Sancia's chaplains from the stain of outright heresy. Throughout his correspondence with the pope, however, he maintained a cordial tone, keeping open the possibility of reconciliation.⁵⁸

In the event, Robert's strategy was successful. The collapse of John of Bohemia's position in northern Italy and the scandal surrounding the pope's theological views spelled the end of John XXII's plans for a new king of Lombardy, and he and Robert were soon reconciled. In May 1334 Robert wrote to John XXII explaining and apologizing for the necessity of his alliance against the papal-French-Bohemian league.⁵⁹ John XXII died a few months later and was succeeded by

⁵⁷ Robert's treatise is edited by Marc Dykmans in *Robert d'Anjou. La vision bienheureuse* (Rome, 1970). Dykmans' introduction discusses the events surrounding its composition and reception: see pp. 10*-23*. It is interesting, and perhaps indicative of Robert's ultimate goal of rapprochement with the pope, that both pope and king maintained a courteous correspondence throughout these tense negotiations.

⁵⁸ So notes Dykmans, loc. cit. (see previous note). Musto ("Queen Sancia," 201) describes Robert as overtly antagonistic, claiming that he used the Beatific Vision controversy to call for the pope's deposition and replacement with a pontiff more sympathetic to the fraticelli, but this is unfounded. His source is Carlo de Frede, "Da Carlo I d'Angiò," 210, who however states only that such proposals were put forth "at the Neapolitan court." De Frede offers no further details or evidence, but is most likely referring to Philip of Majorca's sermon of 1329.

⁵⁹ The letter is published in Müller, *Der Kampf Ludwigs*, 1: 393-405; see esp. 403-405.

a pope, Benedict XII, with no longstanding personal ties to the Angevin crown. While Robert's relations with him were less intimate than with John XXII, and had their moments of tension, there was certainly no break in their alliance.⁶⁰ The political tensions of the early 1330s, and the crown's accompanying association with Franciscan heresy, were an isolated affair.

Thus, the conclusion that Robert was a king of radical and idealistic religious convictions, devoted to the stalwart defenders of Christlike poverty and willing to jettison his political alliance with the papacy because of it, must be revised. Rather than a Franciscan king—much less a heretical Franciscan king—Robert cultivated an image as simply a pious king, showering patronage on all religious orders in his realm. Though less dramatic, this policy was much more in keeping with that of contemporary monarchs, and served here, as in other kingdoms, to promote subjects' affective ties to crown and realm.

Royal Piety and the Realm

Broad patronage of religious communities had been a hallmark of Angevin policy since the reign of Robert's father, Charles II. The royal capital was transformed by his foundations, which included the reconstruction of the cathedral, the Dominican church, convent, and *studium* of San Domenico, and a second Dominican foundation, S. Pietro Martire. But his foundations spread throughout the kingdom—in Lucera, Aversa, Brindisi, Gerace, l'Aquila, Manfredonia, Sulmona, Trani—and totalled well over a hundred.⁶¹ In Provence, he showed special favor to the church of Saint-Maximin, which received both a new basilica and a Dominican convent during Charles' reign. It was here that Charles "discovered" in 1279 the remains of Mary Magdalen, whose cult became inextricably associated with his name

⁶⁰ In one instance of tension, the new pope reopened the inquiry into Andrea da Gagliano, who was acquitted a second time: see Pásztor, "Il processo," *passim*. Still, Caggese is surely correct in his overall assessment that Benedict XII "constantly maintained the most cordial relations with Naples": *Roberto d'Angiò*, 2: 292.

⁶¹ Caroline Bruzelius, "Charles I, Charles II, and the development of an Angevin style in the Kingdom of Sicily," in *L'État angevin. Pouvoir, culture, et société entre XIII^e et XIV^e siècle* (Rome, 1998), 100–101.

throughout Provence and the Regno.⁶² But both the churches he dedicated to the Magdalen and those he did not ranged across a spectrum of religious orders—Franciscan, Dominican, Augustinian—and were spread throughout his lands.

Robert was equally catholic in his religious patronage. His court hosted numerous Franciscans, including influential publicists and advisors such as Paolino da Venezia, Guglielmo da Sarzano, and François de Meyronnes, but it was far from a “cenacle of Franciscanism.”⁶³ Augustinians, for instance, served throughout the reign as royal chaplains, counsellors, and familiars. Peter of Narnia served as such until his promotion as archbishop of Reggio Calabria in 1321, and was soon replaced by Agostino da Ancona, one of the order’s most famous theologians; upon Agostino’s death in 1328 another Augustinian, Bertrand de Verdun, took his place as counsellor and familiar, and in the late 1330s Robert invited another illustrious member of the order, Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro, to the Neapolitan court.⁶⁴ Among Dominicans, Giovanni Regina and Federico Franconi were most prominent, and were joined at court by Cristoforo de’ Tolomei, Robert’s chaplain and familiar in 1313, and Barnabas de Nice, described as royal chaplain and counsellor on 12 March 1329.⁶⁵ Several Benedictines, too, served in the royal chapel, but it was the abbots the powerful southern Italian monastery of Cava who wielded most influence, either in official positions such as vice-chancellor or simply as “one of the greatest ecclesiastical seigneurs of the realm and of Robert’s court.”⁶⁶ Nor did Robert neglect secular clergy, who comprised nearly three quarters of his chapel personnel.⁶⁷ The

⁶² Katharine Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen. Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2000), 308–315.

⁶³ The phrase is Ambrasi’s, “La vita religiosa,” 506.

⁶⁴ On Peter of Narni: B. Ministeri, “De Augustini de Ancona, OESA (d. 1328), Vita et operibus,” in *Analecta Augustiniana* 22 (1951), 53, and Caggese, *Roberto d’Angiò*, 2: 369. On Bertrand de Verdun, see Caggese, 2: 391. The careers of Agostino and Dionigi are outlined in Chapter Two, at nn. 62–65.

⁶⁵ Anna Maria Voci suggests that Cristoforo, a Siennese, may have been only a *capellanus honoris*, presumably not participating in the daily offices of the chapel due to his duties in Siena, but maintaining connections to the court. See “La cappella di corte dei primi sovrani angioini di Napoli,” *ASPn* 113 (1995), 104. On Barnabas, see Caggese, *Roberto d’Angiò*, 2: 391.

⁶⁶ On these Benedictines (and the quote, from Dykmans, *La vision bienheureuse*), see Chapter Two above, at nn. 151–2.

⁶⁷ Fifty-one of the seventy-one known royal chaplains were secular clergy. To the sixty-six chapel clerics listed by Voci, “La cappella,” I add four mentioned by

archbishops of Naples (generally high-ranking nobles as well as secular clerics) worked closely with the royal court.⁶⁸ Ingherammo de Stella, royal counsellor and confessor of Robert's daughter-in-law, rose to the position of chancellor, the most important clerical office in the realm, and was perceived by visitors as a conduit to the king's ear.⁶⁹

Given the huge number of religious foundations by Robert's father, it is not surprising that Robert himself did not establish new churches or convents—though, as was noted above, his queen founded four, and his son Charles another, the Carthusian monastery of San Martino. Instead, Robert patronized existing communities through personal visitations. A full record of royal visitations in 1335 reveals that Robert visited some twenty Neapolitan churches and convents, affiliated with all religious orders, over the course of the year.⁷⁰ On many such occasions he preached: the rubrics of Robert's sermons locate them “in the monastery of the ladies of Romania in Naples,” “in the convent of San Domenico,” “to the nuns of San Pietro a Castello” (a Dominican convent founded by his mother), or “to the nuns of Santa Chiara.”⁷¹ Other sermons, such as that in honor of Saint Restituta, to whom a chapel in the cathedral was dedicated, or that for Peter Martyr, to whom Charles II had founded a church, were very likely preached in the church or chapel dedicated to that saint.⁷² Each visit was a ceremonial occasion of some import, with the king riding on horseback through the city, accompanied by an

Caggese (Antonio, Giovanni da Bologna, Peter of Narni and Barnabas de Nice) and a fifth, Paolo of Perugia, a secular cleric of the royal chapel from 1334. On Paolo, see Francesco Torraca, “Giovanni Boccaccio a Napoli (1326–1339),” *ASPN* 39 (1914), 234–237.

⁶⁸ Hubert d'Ormont, archbishop from 1308 to 1320, was influential in the royal project of promoting Thomas Aquinas; Bertoldo Orsini (1323–26) was a royal counsellor and familiar; subsequent archbishops also came from noble families such as the de Ceccano and Orsini. See Ambrasi, “La vita religiosa,” 452–453.

⁶⁹ See Conrad Eubel, ed., *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, vol. 1 (Regensburg, 1913), 165; Camillo Miniero-Ricci, *Studii storici fatti sopra 84 registri angioini* (Naples, 1876), 4. The Venetian Marino Sanudo the Elder wrote to Ingherammo regarding his desire to see Robert lead a crusade, “rogo vos multum quod recommendatis me domino nostro regi”: see F. Kunstmann, “Studien über Marino Sanudo den Älteren,” *Abhandlungen der Historischen Classe der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 7 (1853), 743.

⁷⁰ Minieri-Riccio, “Genealogia,” *ASPN* 8 (1883), 25–26.

⁷¹ In Schneyer's catalog of Robert's sermons (cf. above, n. 3), these are, in order, nos. 77, 79, 83, and 100.

⁷² The sermon for Peter Martyr is no. 206 in Schneyer's catalog, that for Restituta no. 213.

almoner distributing money to the poor and doubtless by other companions. On one occasion, for instance, he was followed to Santa Chiara by “prelates, theological masters, priors and lectors of various orders” as well as by “many others of lesser condition” (probably laity) who wished to hear his sermon.⁷³

Angevin burial sites reveal a similar program of spreading royal patronage widely. The cathedral was a logical necropolis for royalty, and indeed the planned reconstruction of the cathedral after a damaging earthquake of 1293 included a royal chapel intended to shelter the tomb of Charles I. Robert further underscored this chapel’s dynastic character by dedicating it to his canonized brother Louis and by ordering the construction of more magnificent royal tombs within it for several members of the family.⁷⁴ However, the small and peripherally located chapel was clearly inadequate to shelter all deceased members of the royal family, which suggests that it was never intended to become the sole royal necropolis. Instead, the Angevins dedicated their remains to a variety of churches. Charles II, for instance, chose to be buried in a Dominican convent he founded in Provence, Saint Mary of Nazareth, while leaving his heart to San Domenico in Naples.⁷⁵ The remains of those numerous family members who died during Robert’s long reign were scattered throughout the city. Robert’s mother (d. 1323) rested in the convent she founded, S. Maria Donna Regina. His younger brothers Philip and John followed their father (or at least his heart) in being buried in San Domenico; another brother, Raymond Berengar, was buried in the Franciscan church of San Lorenzo, as was Robert’s son Louis, who died in infancy. Robert’s son Charles of Calabria and Charles’ wife Marie of Valois were both buried in Santa Chiara, which Robert

⁷³ The presence of the almoner is noted in relation to Robert’s circuit of visitations in 1335 (see above, n. 70). The crowd who followed him to Santa Chiara was described by Pope Benedict XII, for on this occasion Robert violated the enclosure of the Clarissan nuns to let his audience in. The pope’s letter absolving Robert for this transgression is *Bull. Franc.*, vol. 6, no. 81 (January 1338).

⁷⁴ Caroline Bruzelius, “*Le pietre sono parole*: Charles II d’Anjou, Filippo Minutolo et la cathédrale angevine de Naples,” in *Le monde des cathédrales* (Paris, 2001), 5, 16–17. The chapel was constructed between 1306 and 1310, and dedicated to Louis of Anjou after 1317; in 1333 Robert ordered that new tombs be built here for his grandfather Charles I, his eldest brother Charles Martel, and Charles Martel’s wife Clemenza.

⁷⁵ Vincenzo Maria Perrotta, *Descrizione storica della chiesa e del monastero di San Domenico Maggiore di Napoli* (Naples, 1830), 79–80.

too chose for his final resting place. The remains of Charles of Calabria's first wife, Catherine of Austria, were sent home, but a tomb was built for her in San Lorenzo in Naples, where the anniversary of her death was celebrated.⁷⁶ As for Sancia, who died two years after her husband, she chose Santa Croce, a Clarissan convent she had founded, as her resting place. Saint Louis of Anjou was buried in Marseille, with some of his remains transferred to royal churches and chapels in Naples.⁷⁷ In short, between 1309 and 1345, Angevin burial sites spanned at least eight churches and both principal Angevin territories. The pattern suggests a conscious royal program to consolidate the dynasty's links with the spiritual life of their lands as thoroughly as possible.

This inference gains support from the memorial sermons preached in the realm's churches in honor of Angevin princes, which emphasized their love for the realm. Giovanni Regina described Robert's brother, John of Durazzo (d. 1335) as both pious and just, but also as intimate with his subjects, among whom he mixed with humility.⁷⁸ For Federico Franconi, John of Durazzo was primarily a military leader, but Federico too placed great emphasis on the mutual love between John and the subjects of the realm. He was "a brother to the people of Naples by reason of his love for and association with them," or again, "he was a brother to his people, and in this way was he was a brother to the men of this region [*contrate*], and especially to the Neapolitans."⁷⁹ Robert's son, Charles of Calabria (d. 1328) was also associated with Angevin subjects. Giovanni Regina described him as valorous, pious, and just, but also stressed that he

⁷⁶ Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 1: 654, and Lorenz Enderlein, *Die Grablagen des Hauses Anjou in Unteritalien. Totenkult und Monumente 1266–1343* (Worms am Rhein, 1997), 189–91.

⁷⁷ Louis' brain was kept in Santa Chiara, his arm in the royal chapel at Castelnuovo, both preserved in magnificent reliquaries: see Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASPN* 8 (1883), 208, and Émile Bertaux, "Les saints Louis dans l'art italien," *Revue des deux mondes* 158 (1900), 628.

⁷⁸ "Vassallos sibi subiectos iuste et pie gubernabat. Cum omnibus inferioribus humiliter conversabatur." In a sermon for the translation of John's remains, inc. "*Placuit Deo et translatus est*," Naples, Bibl. Naz., MS VIII AA 11, at fol. 37r.

⁷⁹ The first quote comes from the sermon inc. "*Ego vobiscum sum*": Munich, Clm MS 2981, fols. 133r–134r; the second, "Fuit frater gente, et sic fuit frater hominum istius contrate, et precipue Neapolitanorum," appears in the sermon inc. "*Ego ad te venio*," MS cit., fol. 134v. I thank David d'Avray for sharing with me his transcriptions of and notes on these sermons, from which I cite.

"was loved singularly by this city [Naples], and specially by the whole realm."⁸⁰

Robert's own love for his subjects was lauded in a sermon by his virtual vice-regent, Bartolomeo da Capua. Glossing the biblical quotation *Behold, thy king comes unto thee, meek* Bartolomeo stated that Robert could rightly be called "their" king on three counts. First, because he was born in the Regno, "and thus both he and you were born of one region and nursed by one land . . . and through his birth here, the whole realm is honored." Second, because of his familiar interaction with his people, "for since his adolescence and youth he interacted on familiar and domestic terms with the vassals (*fidelibus*) of the realm, not in the excellence of his greatness but with the modesty of familiarity." Third, and finally, because of his love for his people: "for sincerely, lovingly, and preeminently he loved and loves the *fideles* and subjects of this realm . . . The king's love for you is cause for your greater return of this love."⁸¹ This sermon was

⁸⁰ "Fuit dilectus a Deo et ab hominibus diligentibus Deum; singulariter quidem a civitate ista, sicut ostendit in luctu facto de morte suo, specialiter autem a toto regno." In the sermon inc. "*In caritate perpetua dilexi te*," Naples, Bibl. Naz., MS VIII AA 11, fol. 25r. The rubric states that this sermon, like the one that precedes it in the manuscript (and that opens with the same biblical quotation), was for the anniversary of the death of King Charles II. As David d'Avray has observed, this attribution is certainly an error, for the sermon states that the subject died young, and refers to him as prince, not king. (See his *Death and the Prince. Memorial Preaching before 1350* [Oxford, 1994], 104n.) Charles Martel is a possible candidate, but it is more likely that the sermon refers to Charles of Calabria. For one thing, Charles Martel would have been referred to as a king himself (of Hungary), as he was in other sermons praising the dynasty as a whole. Secondly, the sermon stresses that this prince and his court were well known for their diligent and equitable governance, referring to administrative responsibilities that conform rather better to the known career of Charles of Calabria, who served as his father's regent for long periods.

⁸¹ "Ipse rex [est] tuus, scilicet universitatis eiusdem . . . primo, ex horigine productione: qui quidem rex natus fuit in regno isto, in urbe Capuana, et sic ipsum et vos una provincia genuit, una terra lactavit. . . . In horigine dicti regis in regno totum ipsum regnum est honorificatum. Secundo, tuus ipse rex familiaritatis conversatione. Ipse quidem ab annis tenere adolescentie et iuventutis sue cum fidelibus regni familiariter et domestice conversatus est, non in excellentia magnitudinis, sed modestia familiaritatis. . . . Tertio est tuus idem [rex] in affectione: quia ipse sincera mente, amore, et primate dilexit and diligit fideles et subditos huius regni. . . . Amor ipsius regis ad vos est causa maioris reamationis." See the edition of Jean-Paul Boyer, "Parler du roi et pour le roi. Deux sermons de Barthélemy de Capue, logothète du royaume de Sicile," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 79 (1995), 242–247, at 244.

preached in 1324 in honor of Robert's return to Naples after a five-year sojourn in Provence, and was doubtless intended in part to compensate for that long absence. Robert's frequent visitations to Neapolitan churches, accompanied by an almoner, may have served a similar purpose. Indeed for Robert as for Angevin princes, love for the realm was associated with piety, among other things. In his funeral sermon for Robert in 1343, Federico Franconi noted that "he was no slayer of his subjects, but, like a shepherd, he loved them all, always responding with mercy and giving alms, and especially to mendicant friars whose *studium* he supported."⁸²

Another expression of Angevin piety was the dynasty's promotion of the cults of certain saints. Like widespread patronage of religious houses, this effort too began in the reign of Charles II. The king himself, as we have seen, was specially devoted to the cult of Mary Magdalen. Despite the fact that the Magdalen's relics had been venerated at Vézelay in Burgundy for centuries, Charles II was convinced that they really lay hidden in Provence, a territory that the saint was believed to have personally evangelized; he duly discovered them while still prince of Salerno in 1279. Through this discovery and his many subsequent signs of devotion, Charles II became so closely identified with the Magdalen that the reliquary displaying her skull bore his name, and the liturgical office composed for the translation of her remains mentioned him.⁸³ Even the date of Charles' death (5 May) became, in the hands of the preacher Giovanni Regina, a proof of Charles' special tie to the saint, for it was also the feast of her translation, "on account of which Mary Magdalen was truly able to say to him, *As a mother loves her only son thus I loved you* (2 Kings 1)."⁸⁴

In the last years of Charles II's reign the Angevin court was busy promoting the cults of other saints as well. The cult of Margaret of Hungary spread in Naples, doubtless under the leadership of Queen Maria, Margaret's niece, whose natal family had been promoting the cult in Hungary since Margaret's death in 1270.⁸⁵ Meanwhile, Charles

⁸² Parts of this sermon (inc. "*Ecce rex vester*") are published in d'Avray's *Death and the Prince* at 107, 132, and 191; for this passage I cite from Professor d'Avray's working translation of the whole sermon, with which he kindly provided me.

⁸³ Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 314.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 307.

⁸⁵ André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge,

II and Robert were working for the canonization of Nicholas of Tolentino, a popular local figure who had died in 1305.⁸⁶ Not surprisingly, however, their main efforts were directed toward securing the canonization of Robert's brother Louis (d. 1297). The Angevins began collecting testimony regarding Louis' sanctity soon after his death; the first official canonization proceedings took place under Clement V in 1307–08 but, interrupted by the long papal vacancy following Clement's death, were only resumed in 1316, when John XXII took up the case of his former tutor and brought it to a swift conclusion in April of the following year. Thereafter, the Angevins vigorously promoted his cult. Robert declared a general celebration in Marseille in honor of his brother's canonization, preached a sermon for the occasion, and composed a liturgical office for Louis' feast day; he preached again for Louis' translation in 1319 to a more resplendent tomb in the Franciscan church of the Cordeliers in Marseille.⁸⁷ Remains brought back to Naples included an arm, encased in a deluxe reliquary of rock crystal and silver, and Louis' brain, adorned for some years with one of Queen Sancia's gold-and-jewel crowns; these and other relics were housed in Santa Chiara, where the Angevins had dedicated a chapel to Louis by 1320. A number of paintings and legendaries commissioned by the Angevins attracted further devotion to his cult.⁸⁸

It is worth noting that despite Louis' evident devotion to the ideal of poverty, Robert's court emphasized instead his obedience, and the magnificence of his royal and episcopal status. This image is evident already in the sermons preached in 1303 by James of Viterbo,

1997), 181; Gabor Klaniczay, "The Cinderella Effect: Late Medieval Sainthood in Central Europe and Italy," *East Central Europe* 20–23, part 1 (1993–96), 56.

⁸⁶ Vauchez, *Sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge* (Rome, 1988), 93. This passage was excised from the English translation of Vauchez's work cited in the previous note.

⁸⁷ Robert's sermon for Louis' canonization, inc. "*Corona aurea super mitrum eius*," is edited in Edith Pásztor, *Per la storia di S. Ludovico d'Angiò* (Rome, 1955), 69–81; that for Louis' translation, inc. "*Enoch ante translationem testimonium habuit placuisse deo*," is in Venice, Bibl. Marc., MS 2101, pp. 117–120. On the liturgical office and other forms of Angevin promotion of the saint, see Margaret Toynbee, *St. Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonization in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Manchester, 1929), 205–208.

⁸⁸ On Louis' chapel in Santa Chiara and its relics, see Adrian Hoch, "The Franciscan Provenance of Simone Martini's Angevin St. Louis in Naples," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 58, 1 (1995), 25, 32. The other works are discussed below at nn. 91, 174–178.

Archbishop of Naples and a prominent figure in Angevin circles.⁸⁹ By the time of Robert's reign it dominated. Robert's own lengthy sermon celebrating Louis' canonization, for instance, makes no mention whatever of his brother's embrace of Franciscan poverty.⁹⁰ The altarpiece Robert commissioned in 1317 or 1318 from Simone Martini, in which St. Louis places the royal crown on Robert's head, depicts Louis in magnificent, bejeweled episcopal robes, and is framed "in the most magnificent display of heraldry to decorate a medieval panel painting" (Plate 1).⁹¹ In following years, Robert's ministers continued to emphasize Louis' nobility, obedience, and other virtues rather than his poverty.⁹² Louis was, for Robert, not an icon of Spiritual poverty but an example of Angevin magnificence and sanctity.

This distinction is important, for it helps to explain the royal court's subsequent efforts to secure the canonization of another friar, Thomas Aquinas. A request for an inquiry into Thomas' case was sent to the pope in the name of King Robert, of his mother and two brothers, of the counts and barons of the realm and of the university of Naples.⁹³ Several prominent court figures oversaw the proceedings, including Hubert d'Ormont, archbishop of Naples, deputized as apostolic commissioner for the proceedings in 1318, and Giovanni Regina, who was appointed procurer of the proceedings in Avignon in 1323.⁹⁴ This collaboration between the pope and the Angevin

⁸⁹ Anderson, "Dominus Ludovicus," 275–295.

⁹⁰ See above, n. 87. In fact this sermon barely discusses Louis as an individual at all, but focuses on a rather abstract discussion of virtues generally.

⁹¹ Julian Gardner, "The Cult of a Fourteenth-Century Saint: The Iconography of Louis of Toulouse," in *I francescani nel Trecento. Atti del XIV convegno internazionale, Assisi, 16–18 ottobre 1986* (Assisi, 1988), 172. The remarkable luxury of the image and its implicit denial of Louis' "Spiritual" leanings have been often noted. See idem, "Saint Louis of Toulouse, Robert of Anjou, and Simone Martini," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 39 (1976), 12–33; Andrew Martindale, *Simone Martini. Complete Edition* (Oxford, 1988), 18, 192–4; and Hoch, "Franciscan Provenance," 23–25, citing further bibliography. I follow Hoch on the dating of the commission and its intended function, earlier questioned by Gardner, as an altarpiece.

⁹² François' sermons, as discussed above, laud poverty but assert that obedience is superior. The sermon inc. "*Produxit filium*," possibly written by Landulfo Caracciolo, lauds Louis' lineage, chastity, justice, etc., and the several sermons by Bertrand de Turre are similarly quiet on the subject of Louis' poverty (see Appendix below). Paolino da Venezia also provides a portrait of St. Louis in his *Historia Satyrica*, written circa 1335: MS Vat. lat. 1960, at fols. 262r–v. Pásztor (*Per la storia*, 53) has noted the conservative, Conventual nature of Paolino's portrait.

⁹³ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 79n.

⁹⁴ P.M. Schaff, "Jean de Naples," in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, vol. 8, col.

court resulted in the swift conclusion of Thomas' case, as it had of Louis'.⁹⁵ And just as Robert had preached on the occasion of his brother's canonization, so he preached on behalf of Thomas, in the presence of the pope in Avignon.⁹⁶

From a doctrinal point of view the pairing of Louis and Thomas is curious: the one a Franciscan devoted to poverty, the other a Dominican theorist whose ideas formed the backbone of anti-Franciscan polemic. Indeed, Thomas' ideas were perceived as so hostile to the Franciscan ideal of poverty that some Franciscans even tried to block his canonization.⁹⁷ The court's attitude to both saints, however, reveals that the poverty issue was far from foremost in their minds. Indeed, as if to emphasize the unity rather than opposition of the two saints, Robert made a gift on Louis' feast day not to a Franciscan church, but to the Dominican headquarters in Naples, San Domenico.⁹⁸ What united the saints, of course, was their association with crown and realm. Thomas, scion of the noble house of Aquino and illustrious theologian, and Louis, royal Angevin prince: their inclusion among the saints, as Domenico Ambrasi has observed, "greatly honored Naples and conferred a new luster on the House of Anjou."⁹⁹ The same might be said for the other saints whose cults the royal court promoted. Margaret of Hungary, like Louis, was an Angevin relative, and Mary Magdalen was specially associated with Charles II; Nicholas of Tolentino, like Thomas, was southern Italian. Indeed, their cults even hint at an attempt to "balance" the saints associated with Provence and southern Italy, much like the dispersion of royal tombs. Thomas and Nicholas were both native sons of the Regno, and Margaret's cult received support in Naples. Mary Magdalen, by contrast, was especially linked to Provence, which she was reputed to have evangelized and where her relics were found.

793–794; Tommaso Kaeppli, "Note sugli scrittori domenicani di nome Giovanni di Napoli," *AFH* 10 (1940), 51.

⁹⁵ Vauchez (*Sainthood*, 62–64) notes that in the fourteenth century canonization proceedings were becoming more and more lengthy, and that Thomas', like Louis', was unusually swift.

⁹⁶ Angelus Walz, "Historia canonizationis S. Thomae de Aquino," *Xenia thomistica* 3 (1925), 148–149, 152, 169–172. The sermon itself is one of three Robert preached on saint Thomas, listed in Schneyer's catalog as nos. 58, 74, and 138.

⁹⁷ See Martin Grabmann, "Hagiographische Texte in einer Hs. des kirchenhistorischen Seminars der Universität München," *AFP* 19 (1949), 379–382.

⁹⁸ This is mentioned in Ambrasi, "La vita religiosa," 506–507.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 448.

So was Louis, who spent his youth in the county and requested burial there, and where his cult flourished first and most.¹⁰⁰

In Louis' case, there is abundant testimony to the use of his cult as a focal point for patriotic and pro-Angevin sentiment in a specifically Provençal context. According to the Provençal preacher François de Meyronnes, one of the seven aspects of Louis' sanctity was his birthplace, "since God sanctified this land above others; for in this *patria* are seven saints who saw Christ with their own eyes"—one of whom was Mary Magdalen.¹⁰¹ The sanctity of the prince and of the realm were mutually confirming: Louis was holy because, among other reasons, he was born in holy Provence; Provence's holiness was affirmed in being the birthplace of the saint. The sermon thus served to strengthen Provençal subjects' affective ties to their country. In a similar manner, the Neapolitan preacher Giovanni Regina spoke of Naples as a holy land: "we are gathered here to ask God for peace in this mystical Jerusalem, the city of Naples, which is the capital of this realm just as once Jerusalem was the capital of the realm of the Jerusalemites."¹⁰² The civil jurist and protonotary Bartolomeo da Capua extended the analogy to the whole kingdom when he spoke of its various communities as "the daughters of Jerusalem."¹⁰³

If Louis served as a focal point for patriotic feeling, however, he also served as a magnet for allegiance to the crown. François preached in another sermon on St. Louis, "I say that through this saint, this sacred royal majesty and royal house are venerated, not only by their subjects but by those in remote places. This house is vener-

¹⁰⁰ Pásztor, *Per la storia*, 7–22; Bertaux, "Les saints Louis dans l'art italien," 621.

¹⁰¹ "Circa totum thema ad declarandum sanctitatem sancti Lodovici est nobis septupliciter contemplandus. . . . Quarto, de loco nativitatis, quia natus est in terra quam Deus pre ceteris sanctificavit; nam in patria illa sunt septem sancti qui Christum oculis corporeis viderunt." François named only five others: Lazarus, Mary Magdalen, Martha, Maximinius (one of the seventy-two sent out by Christ to preach) and Saint Cedonius (the blind man healed by Christ in John 9:2). In the sermon inc. "*Humiliavit semetipsum*," edited in the anonymous article "De S. Ludovico episcopo Tolosano: Sermo magistri Francisci de Mayronis," *Analecta Ordinis Minorum Capucinatorum* 13 (1897), at 311.

¹⁰² "Omnes ad presens sumus congregati ad rogandum Dominum pro pace Jerusalem mystice civitatis Neapolitane, que est capud istius regni sicut olim Jerusalem fuit capud regni Jerusalemiani," In the sermon given "in processione pro pace," inc. "*Rogate que ad pacem sunt Jerusalem*": Naples, Bibl. Naz., MS VIII AA 11, at fol. 114ra.

¹⁰³ In his sermon of 1324 welcoming Robert back to Naples, inc. "*Ecce rex tuus*." Edited in Boyer, "Parler du roi," 242–247, at 247.

ated in this most worthy member [Louis] even in all parts of Christendom."¹⁰⁴ A preacher from southern France made a similar remark soon after Louis' canonization: "Great is the tie binding a lord to his subject, and the subject to his lord. And since [Louis] was our lord, so we must love him, preach about him, and praise God through his sanctity more than if he were the son of the King of France, or of England, or of any other king."¹⁰⁵ Louis' status as both prince and saint made him a potent magnet for subjects' allegiance, but the sermons extolling Angevin princes' love for their people worked to the same end. Indeed, perhaps because Louis functioned so well in this regard for Provençals, his brothers were more specifically associated with Naples.

In sum, in its religious patronage, its dispersal of royal tombs, and its promotion of the cults of saints the Angevin dynasty cultivated its connections to the spiritual life of its territories in the broadest way possible. Robert and his relatives were pious rulers, and their subjects denizens of a holy land. Such claims were made by many late-medieval dynasties in their effort to attract subjects' first allegiance, in a strategy that was well considered and often effective. For the Angevins, however, the strategy seems to have had considerable but not complete success, if we can judge from popular reactions to the dynasty's favored saints. The cult of the Magdalen flourished in Provence, where her relics attracted a flood of pilgrims; it was also quite popular in central Italy, a region much influenced by the Angevins and sporadically under their rule.¹⁰⁶ In the kingdom itself, it was embraced by noble families who wished to illustrate

¹⁰⁴ From the sermon inc. "*Luce [splendida] fulgebis*": Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Arbaud, MS 21, fols. 108v–110v, at 108v. This manuscript copy, kindly signalled to me by Robert Lerner, contains dynastic language excised from the early printed books of François' sermons, but its readings are quite corrupt. "Dico quod per hunc sanctum ista sacra regia maiestas et domus regia fuerunt venerate [MS: fuit venerata] non solum eorum subditis [MS: subditi] sed quibuscumque remotis et emulis [MS: quicumque remoti et emuli]. Domus ista in eius membro dignissimo et in omni [MS *om.*] parte fidelium veneratur." Cf. the version in *Sermones de sanctis Francisci de Mayronis* (Venice, 1493), at fol. 162v.

¹⁰⁵ "Magnus enim vinculum est domini ad servum et servi ad dominum, et quia ipse erat dominus noster, plus debemus eum amare, eum predicare, et Deum in eius sanctitate laudare quam si fuisset filius regis Francie, vel Anglie, vel cuiuscumque." From the sermon inc. "*Puer eram ingeniosus* (Sap. 8)": MS Vat. Borgh. 138, fols. 239r–240v, at 239v. See also the Appendix p. 312 below.

¹⁰⁶ Jansen, *Making of the Magdalen*, 66, 326, 332n (on Provence); 305, 332 (on Tuscany).

their alliance with the crown. Images of the saint appeared in the private chapels of the Minutolo, Pipino, and Brancaccio families in some of the major churches of Naples; a scion of the powerful Caracciolo family, also closely tied to the crown, founded a church in Mary Magdalen's honor near Pozzuoli in the year of Charles II's death.¹⁰⁷ Yet, as Katharine Jansen has observed, Charles II's efforts to spread the cult more widely often failed. Though he named or renamed many churches in honor of Mary Magdalen, the people did not adopt the new nomenclature, nor did "Maddalena" become a popular female name in the Regno as it did, for instance, in fourteenth-century Tuscany.¹⁰⁸

The cult of Louis of Anjou followed a similar pattern. He had a strong local following in Provence already at the time of his canonization, and iconographic evidence reveals the popularity of his cult in central Italy.¹⁰⁹ In the Regno itself, however, his cult was less widespread. The royal family built chapels to him in the Neapolitan churches of Santa Chiara and San Lorenzo, venerated him in the family chapel of Castelnuovo, and commissioned numerous paintings, frescoes, and reliquaries in his honor. Outside the Angevins' own commissions in the capital, however, examples are few: a chapel dedicated to him in the cathedral of Bari, a Franciscan monastery in Aversa bearing his name.¹¹⁰ Interestingly, his cult appears to have flowered more fully in southern Italy after the close of Angevin rule—a phenomenon that echoes, as we shall see, the increasingly idealized recollections of Robert himself after his death.¹¹¹ As for Margaret, her cult was doubtless hindered by her much-delayed canonization, which was not accomplished until 1943.¹¹² Nonetheless, it is notable that, apart from two *Lives* produced in royal Angevin circles in the

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 315–317.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 320.

¹⁰⁹ Numerous images of and chapels dedicated to Louis of Anjou sprouted in Florence, Assisi, and Perugia, and a number of miracles worked in favor of Tuscans or Umbrians came to be attributed to the Angevin saint: see Bertaux, "Les saints Louis dans l'art italien," 616–623.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 627–634.

¹¹¹ Émile Bertaux, remarking on the florescence of Louis of Anjou's cult under Aragonese rule in the fifteenth century, observes that he and Louis IX "did not cease to inspire popular painting in the provinces" of southern Italy; in fact the examples he mentions outnumber those dating from the period of Angevin rule itself. Ibid., 639–640.

¹¹² Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 52–53.

mid-fourteenth century, there is little evidence of her cult in the south, while in central Italy, again, her influence was more marked.¹¹³

Thomas Aquinas appears not to have taken root as a popular cult either in Provence or southern Italy. His canonization was promoted by the Dominican Order and the Angevin house, and had the full support of Pope John XXII, but as André Vauchez has observed, "some of the canonizations pronounced by the papacy in this period seem to have been received with reluctance, even hostility, by the faithful, as in the case of Thomas Aquinas."¹¹⁴ On one hand, a Dominican legendary of the fourteenth century claimed that people were attracted to Thomas on account of his beautiful corpulence.¹¹⁵ On the other hand, one member of the pope's entourage remarked during the canonization proceedings on the few healing miracles attributed to the saint, which suggests limited popular invocations of his aid.¹¹⁶ His miracles, and indeed his holiness, were linked principally with his theological works, and this may have been too rarefied an image for widespread popular devotion.

Nicholas of Tolentino represents a different kind of failure. Unlike the other saints mentioned, his cult did not originate in the royal court. An ascetic of humble social origins, he had a lively popular following in southern Italy.¹¹⁷ It was the dynasty that sought to associate itself with his cult by promoting his canonization, and in this they were not successful. Around 1309 or 1310, an observer noted that "two kings of Naples labored for more than forty days with all their might and incurred almost innumerable expenses, and still they could not obtain the canonization of holy Nicholas of Tolentino, who shone with so many miracles."¹¹⁸ John XXII opened an inquiry

¹¹³ On Margaret's cult in southern Italy, see E. Koltay-Kastner, "La leggenda della beata Margherita d'Ungheria alla corte angioina di Napoli," *Biblioteca dell'Accademia d'Ungheria di Roma* 18 (1939), 3–9. A Florentine fresco depicted Margaret as a saint in 1336, and Catherine of Siena had visions of her later in the century, suggesting favorable popular reception of her cult in Tuscany: see Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 87n, 121.

¹¹⁴ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 419.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 437.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 498.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 214.

¹¹⁸ The vicar general of the bishop of Spoleto remarked that "duo reges Naporum [sic] successive quadraginta dies et amplius laborarunt cum eorum potentia et impensas quasi innumerabiles posuerunt, et tamen vix potuerunt canonizationem beati Nicolai de Tolentino qui tot fulsit miraculis optinere." Cited in Vauchez, *Sainteté en Occident*, 93n, but excised from the English translation of Vauchez's book.

into his case in 1325, but did not conclude it.¹¹⁹ Perhaps, having canonized both Louis and Thomas, he felt the Angevins had received enough such favors. Nicholas' cult continued to flourish—he was finally canonized in 1446—but not as an “Angevin” saint.

The failure of these efforts should not be exaggerated. The Angevins promoted, or promoted their association with, a number of saints' cults, and if some efforts failed in some places, others succeeded. Among Provençals, in allied cities of central Italy, and within the noble class of the Regno, the Magdalen and/or Louis of Anjou were embraced as objects of devotion linked to the Angevin house. Conspicuous for its absence was the general populace of southern Italy. Though the evidence is *ex silentio*, it appears that outside the aristocracy few warmed to a religious observance tinged with monarchical associations. This was, however, only one of several strategies pursued by Robert's court. For in addition to promoting what we might call a “monarchical religion,” they promoted a religion of monarchy, in which the king himself was presented as the locus of sacrality.

Piety and the Pope: The Sacred Vassal

While the dynasty's association with the realm's religious communities and saints' cults was one aspect of its piety, its association with the Church was certainly another. Robert's court capitalized on the Angevins' traditional alliance with the papacy to portray him as a loyal son of the Church, for instance in the funeral sermon preached for Robert by Federico Franconi:

Who would not say that our lord king was subject and obedient to the Roman Church, which he obeyed so promptly, so faithfully in everything, whether by giving the financial help that was owed to it, or by defending it militarily, or by obeying its commands? Therefore one may apply to him the words of John, Chapter 19: *Woman*—that is, the Church—*behold your son*.¹²⁰

A fresco painted a few years after Robert's death in the Neapolitan church of S. Maria Incoronata visualized this concept. The image

¹¹⁹ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 74, 563.

¹²⁰ Cited in d'Avray, *Death and the Prince*, 109–110.

represented the “Triumph of the Church,” with a female Ecclesia enthroned under a baldachin and flanked by her loyal sons. To the right of her throne, standing among the saints, was King Robert, crowned and holding a standard—a Christian champion who had earned a place among the elect (Plate 2).¹²¹

In practice, Robert was not always the pope’s obedient executive arm. Even before their unusual political antagonism of the early 1330s, Robert was known to neglect papal commands regarding the defense of Guelf interests in northern Italy. In 1317, John XXII rebuked the king for his inept handling of affairs in Piedmont.¹²² In 1324, according to an Aragonese ambassador, the pope exploded in frustration at the mention of Robert’s name, exclaiming, “We certainly were and are disappointed with this miserable king Robert, who is wretched and lamentable!”¹²³ For the most part, however, common interests facilitated their collaboration against such rivals as the Visconti of Milan, Frederick of Sicily, Emperor Henry VII and Ludwig of Bavaria.

Whatever the vicissitudes of the papal-Angevin alliance, the royal court was steadfast in upholding the rights and powers of the Church. A virtual flood of pro-papal treatises issued from the pens of Robert’s favored ministers and familiars, making Naples a stronghold of papal supremacy second only to the papal curia itself. The Dominican Giovanni Regina, a client of the Angevin crown since his youth, defended papal supremacy in his *De potestate pape* of 1315–1316. “The emperor and all temporal lords are totally subjected to the pope with regard to their temporal power,” Giovanni asserted, and to drive home his point, he enumerated the pope’s powers: “of instituting and deposing and correcting and punishing and regulating the emperor and all kings and other temporal lords, and of ordering them and extending and restricting their power.”¹²⁴ The Genoese

¹²¹ Bologna, *I pittori*, 270–1, 293.

¹²² Giovanni Tabacco, *La casa di Francia nell’azione politica di papa Giovanni XXII* (Rome, 1953), 159.

¹²³ Heinrich Finke, ed., *Acta Aragonensia*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1908–1922), 2: 612.

¹²⁴ Giovanni Regina’s *De potestate pape* was published by Domenico Gravina, *F. Joannis de Neapoli O.P. . . Quaestiones variae Parisius disputatae . . .* (Naples, 1618), 331–340. According to P.T. Stella, however (“Giovanni Regina di Napoli, O.P., e la tesi di Giovanni XXII circa la visione beatifica,” *Salesianum* 35 [1973], 53–99, at 55), Gravina’s edition of another text in this collection is “greatly manipulated and gravely mutilated.” I have therefore consulted as well one of two surviving manuscript copies, Vat. Lat. 10497, fols. 1r–5r, where the passages cited appear

friar Guglielmo da Sarzano, who joined the Franciscan *studium* in Naples in 1316, wrote a similar *De potestate summi pontificis* in 1322, arguing that “no Catholic or faithful person should deny that every earthly power has made itself subject by right” to the pope.¹²⁵ This work was dedicated to Pope John XXII, and earned him the favor of King Robert as well: by 1327, Guglielmo was receiving a generous monthly stipend from the royal treasury.¹²⁶

Better known is Agostino da Ancona’s *Summa de potestate ecclesiastica* of 1326, also dedicated to Pope John XXII and widely considered the most vigorous defense of papal supremacy of the entire Middle Ages.¹²⁷ Agostino was a counsellor, chaplain, and familiar of the king when he wrote his *Summa*, and the work was clearly welcomed by the court. No less a person than Bartolomeo da Capua, protonotary and logothete of the realm, sent it on to the pope with his recommendation.¹²⁸ Two years later, the Franciscan Andrea da Perugia dedicated yet another work, his *Contra edictum Bavari*, to Pope John XXII.¹²⁹ In addition to listing the enormities of Ludwig of Bavaria, Andrea affirmed the supreme power of the papacy. First, “since the pope is entrusted with the ultimate end [sc. the salvation of souls], so he is held to direct all people toward that end as much as he is able;” this duty required his oversight of all temporal affairs, “since in any case all temporalities, as they are directed to this end, must pertain principally to the pope, and not to some secular prince.”¹³⁰

on fols. 3rb and 3vb respectively: “imperator et omnes domini temporales sunt totaliter subiecti pape quantum ad potestatem quam habent respectu temporalium;” the pope’s powers are those “instituendi et deponendi et suspendendi et corrigendi et puniendi et regulandi imperatorem et omnes reges et alios dominos temporales, et imperandi eis et ampliandi et restringendi eorum potestatem.” At the end of this second passage, the Gravina edition adds “ex legitimis causis,” which is not found in this manuscript. The dating of this and Giovanni’s other *questiones disputatae* is provided by Kaeppli, “Note sugli scrittori,” 51.

¹²⁵ “Omnem potestatem terrenam subiectam et subditam sibi fecisse de iure nullus debet ambigere catholicus aut fidelis.” Edited by Renato del Ponte, after an introduction by Ovidio Capitani, in “Il tractatus *De potestate summi pontificis* di Guglielmo da Sarzano,” *Studi medievali*, 3rd ser., 12 (1971), where this passage appears on 1020.

¹²⁶ Caggese, *Roberto d’Angiò*, 2: 390.

¹²⁷ Michael Wilks, *The Problem of Sovereignty in the Later Middle Ages. The Papal Monarchy with Augustinus Triumphus and the Publicists* (Cambridge, Eng., 1963).

¹²⁸ For biographical details on Agostino and the other writers discussed below, see Chapter Two.

¹²⁹ For a partial edition, see Scholz, *Unbekannte Kirchenpolitische Streitschriften*, 2: 64–75.

¹³⁰ “Cum papa sit ultimo fini prepositus, sicut tenetur omnes ad finem dirigere iuxta posse. . . . Cum saltem temporalia omnia, ut ordinantur ad finem, principaliter

The Provençal Franciscan François de Meyronnes, for his part, wrote no less than three tracts asserting the superiority of spiritual to temporal power in the 1320s. Arguing in his *De subiectione* against both the emperor's universal jurisdiction and a division between spiritual and temporal authority, François marshalled twelve arguments to prove that in the optimal order of the universe there could be but one supreme authority, and since it was absurd to think that the spiritual power should be subject to the temporal, so this supreme authority must be the spiritual ruler himself. Before his death circa 1328, François restated the same basic principles of necessary hierarchy and ideal unity in two other tracts, the *De principatu temporali* and the *Tractatus quomodo principatus temporalis subicitur principi spirituali*, to support papal supremacy.¹³¹

The most influential civil jurists in Robert's entourage seconded the opinions of these friars. In a speech of 1309 announcing Robert's recent coronation to the people of Naples, Bartolomeo da Capua, Robert's pronotary-logothete, underscored the supremacy of the pope, "whose authority precedes all other authorities and powers."¹³² Similarly, Andrea d'Isernia, legal theorist and vice-protonotary of the realm, proclaimed in his treatise on feudal law that "the pope is constituted above all the kings and all the realms of the earth," and supported his claim with a biblical proof often cited by the popes themselves: *I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to build, to destroy, and to plant.*¹³³

ad summum pontificem, non ad aliquem secularem principem, debeant pertinere." Ibid., 70, 72.

¹³¹ The *De subiectione* and the *De principatu temporali* are edited in Pierre de l'Apparent, "L'oeuvre politique de François de Meyronnes, ses rapports avec celle de Dante," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 9 (1942). The *De subiectione* dates to 1322: see above, Chapter Two at n. 46. De l'Apparent dates the *De principatu temporali* to circa 1324, since its more pointed anti-imperial arguments suggest to him the context of the struggle between Pope John XXII and Ludwig of Bavaria, but this specific dating remains conjectural. The *Tractatus quomodo* is a hitherto unknown political work by François, found in MS Vat. Chigi B V 69 at fols. 3r–10v. It shares with François' edited texts the same arguments and some of the same examples, but is a distinct text.

¹³² The statement appears in Bartolomeo's speech celebrating Robert's coronation, edited by Boyer, "Parler du roi," 236–242.

¹³³ L. Palumbo, *Andrea d'Isernia. Studio storico-giuridico* (Naples, 1886), 194–195, citing the preface of Andrea's treatise *In usus feudorum*. On the popes' frequent citation of the passage from Jeremiah, see Yves Congar, "Ecce constitui te super gentes et regna (Jer. 1:10) in Geschichte und Gegenwart," in *Theologie in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Munich, 1957), 681–682.

Taken together, the statements of these men indicate that papal supremacy was not, as some scholars have asserted, merely one among several conflicting opinions circulating at Robert's court, but the common position of Robert's principal ministers and publicists.¹³⁴ Even for a self-styled champion of the Church, it was an unusual position to adopt. Throughout western Europe, monarchs of this period were increasingly hostile to the papacy's sweeping claims and its encroachment on royal jurisdiction within the realm. The famous case of Philip IV of France was, in this context, only the most dramatic instance of a general trend. As assiduous as any king in proclaiming his piety and orthodoxy, Philip flatly and successfully rejected papal jurisdiction within France, sparking a conflict that culminated in his henchmen's physical attack on the pope—a drama that had occurred in 1303, just a few years before the inauguration of Robert's reign.

The Angevin court had good reason to adopt a pro-papal position, however. More was at stake here than the king's reputation for piety: the legitimacy of his rule in southern Italy hinged on papal plenitude of power. As Robert himself emphasized when attacking imperial pretensions, a dominion founded by force was illegal and destined to fail.¹³⁵ Yet the Angevin dynasty itself had been founded by force, when Charles I seized the kingdom from its previous Staufen rulers. The Angevins' only legitimate claim to the kingdom, therefore, was that the papacy had conferred it upon them in fief; but the pope could only give it, of course, if he rightly possessed it—that is, only if he had jurisdiction in temporal affairs. The rebellion of Sicily in 1282, and the installation of an Aragonese prince

¹³⁴ The anti-papal views of individuals like Cino da Pistoia and Ubaldo Bastiani da Gubbio are sometimes cited to suggest that Robert's court hosted contradictory opinions on this question: see Siragusa, *L'ingegno*, 71, 96, and Antonio Altamura, *La letteratura dell'età angioina* (Naples, 1952), 21–23. Neither man, however, had any connection to the royal court. Cino's closest link was to be invited to lecture at the Neapolitan *studium*—an invitation Robert extended reluctantly, at the request of the city, and which resulted only in a brief and unpleasant stay in the city. On Cino's career see Gennaro Maria Monti, *Cino da Pistoia giurista* (Città del Castello, 1924).

¹³⁵ Robert wrote in his anti-imperial letter of spring 1313, “sicut dicit Sallustius, imperium fuit acquisitum viribus et occupatione. . . . Ergo rationabile fuit et est, ut ipsum sit imperium multipliciter diminutum, quod violenter fuit acquisitum.” Franz Kern, ed., *Acta imperii Angliae et Franciae ab a. 1267 ad a. 1313* (Tübingen, 1911), 246. The jurist Marino da Caramanico had previously articulated this same principle: see Chapter Five, n. 7.

as lord and champion of the islanders against the “tyrannical” new dynasty, served as a constant reminder of opposition to the Angevins, and of the importance of the papacy’s overlordship as a legitimating principle.¹³⁶

While the Sicilian secession represented a perduring critique of Angevin legitimacy, it was a new threat that more directly inspired the court to defend papal supremacy: imperial takeover. In 1312–1313, the newly elected emperor Henry VII deposed Robert as a rebel vassal and threatened invasion of the kingdom; in 1328, as we have seen, Ludwig of Bavaria did the same. The Angevin court marshalled a variety of theoretical weapons against imperial claims, including the *de facto* diminution of the empire since antiquity and its illicit origins in violence.¹³⁷ Their most powerful argument, however, was simply that Robert’s kingdom could not belong to the empire because it already belonged to the Church. So argued the civil jurist Andrea d’Isernia. The Church, not the emperors, had possessed all imperial rights and powers since the Donation of Constantine. It had transferred the *imperium* from the Greek emperors to the German, and it could, by the same authority, exempt any province from German imperial jurisdiction. This it had done with the Regno, and the emperors, therefore, had no claim to the kingdom.¹³⁸ François de Meyronnes made a similar case on philosophical grounds in his *De principatu temporalis*. Imperial authority resided in the pontiff virtually and supereminently, in the emperor only formally; hence the pope’s *imperium* predated the Donation, and was therefore in no way dependent on an emperor’s act.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ On the history surrounding Sicily’s rebellion see Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers. A History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1958).

¹³⁷ See Chapter Five, nn. 1–13 for a fuller discussion of these arguments and their historical context.

¹³⁸ See the discussion of Andrea’s thought by Helmut Walter, *Imperiales Königtum, Konziliarismus und Volkssouveränität* (Munich, 1976), 99–100.

¹³⁹ “Auctoritas imperialis melius est in principe spiritualium, quia virtualiter et supereminenter, quam in principe temporalium, in quo est formaliter tantum; et melius est virtualiter tale quam formaliter tale, ergo princeps spiritualium melius presidet temporalibus quam princeps temporalium. . . . Constantinus non subiectus seipsum de jure, quia jam prefuera subjectus, sed tantum de facto recognovit se esse subjectum, quando per fidem intellexit habitudinem ordinis temporalium ad spiritualia.” From François’ *De principatu temporalis*, edited by de l’Apparent, “L’œuvre politique,” 63, 67.

Robert put these arguments to practical use in 1313, in the letter protesting against Henry VII's claims to overlordship of the Regno.

By divine provision (which transfers kingdoms and authorizes the powers of princes, as is written in Ecclesiastes 10), the city of Rome, with its aforementioned provinces and all regalian rights, was translated to the Roman pontiff. . . . Thus it may be said that the *res publica* now resides in the highest Roman pontiff, who has preeminence of power and both swords, as the truth attests in the Gospel [Luc. 22:38], and the celestial law and the earthly imperial law are entrusted to him. . . . And thus the aforesaid emperor, who pronounces this new sentence [sc. deposing Robert], nevertheless governs nothing of the *res publica*.¹⁴⁰

Angevin supporters outside the kingdom made the same argument to defend Robert's rights against Henry VII. Ptolemy of Lucca, for instance, wrote his *De iurisdictione Ecclesie super regnum Apulie et Sicilie* to prove that "the Kingdom of Apulia and Sicily is held from the Church, and hence the emperor has no rights over it."¹⁴¹

In sum, the papacy's plenitude of power, and Robert's avowed subjection to it, were crucial to upholding the legitimacy of his rule in the kingdom. They helped to shore up his position against potentially rebellious subjects and against rival powers who cast themselves as a more rightful alternative to Angevin rule in Italy. The strategy, however, had a significant flaw. To be vassal of a higher power was viewed by many in the early fourteenth century as a diminution of princely authority. True monarchy was increasingly associated with freedom from any temporal superior, including the emperor (which freedom the kings of France, for instance, were careful to assert) and the pope, whose hieratic claims were only increasing in the fourteenth century.¹⁴² The Angevin court was well aware of these devel-

¹⁴⁰ "Ex provisione divina, que transfert regna et permittit principum potestates, sicut scribitur Eccl. X [8], translata fuit civitas Romana, res tunc publica, cum predictis provinciis, omnibus regalibus iuribus in Romanum pontificem, ut predictum est. . . . Licet competenter posset dici, quod res publica sit hodie apud summum Romanum pontificem, qui habet tantam preeminentiam potestatis et utrumque gladium, ut dicit veritas in evangelio [Luc. 22:38], et iura sibi celestis et terreni imperii adeo commissa sunt. . . . Et ideo dictus imperator eandem modernitatem ferens sententiam, tamen nulli presit rei publice." Kern, *Acta Imperii*, 244–45.

¹⁴¹ The treatise opens with the statement that "ab Ecclesia Regnum Siciliae et Apuliae possidetur; itaque Imperator nullum ius habet ibidem." The text is edited by S. Baluze and J. Mansi, *Miscellanea novo ordine digesta*, vol. 1 (Lucca, 1762), 468–473. On the dating of the work, see E. Panella, "Ptolomé de Lucques," in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, vol. 15, cols. 1017–1019.

¹⁴² On French rejection of imperial overlordship, see for example Philip IV's

opments. Robert himself once flattered French ambassadors by repeating the Capetians' own claim that they had no temporal superior.¹⁴³ The contrasting embarrassment of Robert's subjection was acknowledged by one of the king's most zealous supporters, François de Meyronnes. As he noted in his *Tractatus de principatu temporali*, "some say . . . that the rule of our king, that is, the king of Sicily and Jerusalem, is more ignoble than other rulerships, since he alone acknowledges his subordination to the Church, whereas others do not acknowledge as much in temporal matters, and [that] therefore they are more free, since they have no temporal superior."¹⁴⁴

Thus to deny his vassalage to the papacy undermined the grounds of Robert's legitimate rule, but to acknowledge it undermined his authority as fully king. Robert's most devoted publicists addressed this issue as well. Unable to deny Robert's vassalage, they took another tack: they transformed it from a weakness to a strength. Guglielmo da Sarzano cast papal vassalage in this light in his *Tractatus de excellentia principatu regalis*, a companion piece to his pro-papal treatise and written soon afterward. His stated purpose was to urge the pope to find a ruler capable of providing peace and concord in Italy. The "German king," as Guglielmo dismissively called him, could not be this ruler, for the imperial office, being elective, was unstable and open to dispute at each transfer of power, leaving the land prey to every sort of discord and crime. Only a hereditary monarchy could consistently maintain its power and ensure peace. And the most desirable monarchy, as Guglielmo stated in his concluding chapter, was one in which the papacy ruled through the king:

We can assert very well what a happy fate and healthy counsel God has provided to those who are governed, through the favor of the Apostolic See, by the clemency of a wise and just king, since (if we read the Scriptures) these things belong most highly to the pope as to another first and highest parent placed in the Church for the care and

letter to Emperor Henry VII soon after 1312, in *MGH, Legum*, vol. 4, *Constitutiones*, vol. 4, no. 811.

¹⁴³ In the "sermo responsionis . . . ad propositionem nuntiorum regis Francie," inc. "*Dominus est sollicitus mei*," Venice, Bibl. Marc., MS 2101, pp. 370–371.

¹⁴⁴ "Dicunt quidam . . . quod principatus regis nostri, scilicet Cecilie et Jherusalem, est ignobilior ceteris principatibus, quia solus iste subordinationem Ecclesie recognoscit; ceteri vero reges sua temporalia ab Ecclesia non recognoscunt, et ideo sunt liberiores, quia supra se in temporalibus nihil habent." In the edition of de l'Apparent, "L'œuvre politique," 70.

custody of the Christian people. . . . A happy fate therefore has fallen to those who, directed to such a vicar of Christ in a special fashion, are placed within the ark of the Lord, in the fortress of David, in the apostolic ship and in the battle-array of Catholic firmness. I judge happy, too, the fate of those who are governed, with divine providence leading, by the prudence of a wise and just king."¹⁴⁵

Though Guglielmo didn't identify his own "wise" king by name, the conditions of his idealized ruler fit the Angevin well. Robert did govern "through the favor of the Apostolic See," and his subjects were ruled by the vicar of Christ in a "special fashion": not just spiritually but temporally as well.

Robert, too, emphasized both the exalted status of the pontiff and, implicitly, his own reflected glory. In a sermon preached to celebrate a pope's election—this would have been either John XXII in 1316 or Benedict XII in 1334—Robert extolled his lord as "great priest, highest pontiff, prince of bishops, heir of the apostles, an Abel in primacy, a Noah in governance, a patriarch like Abraham, a Moses in authority, a Samuel in judgment, a Peter in power, a Christ in unction." The glory Robert gained by association was hinted at in the sermon's chosen theme. The passage he chose, from Psalm 88 (89), was *For the Lord is our defense*—a verse that continues, significantly, *and the Holy One of Israel is our king*.¹⁴⁶ A listener familiar with the Psalms would have recognized the linkage between the Lord (or Robert's papal lord) and Robert's own divinely-chosen rule.

It was the Provençal friar François de Meyronnes, however, who labored most to cast Robert's subjection to the papacy as a strength rather than a weakness. The issue was something of an *idée fixe* for the friar, who returned to it in several works. As we have seen, his

¹⁴⁵ "Quam felici autem sorte et salubri preveniantur consilio qui sub apostolice sedis favore sapientis ac justis regis gubernantur clementia, ex hoc possumus advertere luculenter, quoniam si bene videamus Scripturas, hii summo coherent et adherent pontifici quasi alteri primo et summo parenti posito in Ecclesia ad curam et custodiam christiani populi. . . . Felix ergo sors cecidit super illos qui, ad talem ac tantum Christi vicarium peculiari modo conversi, positi sunt in latere arche dominice, in fortalicio turris davidice, in puppe navis apostolice et in acie catholice firmitatis. Felicem quoque sortem illorum reputo, qui divina providentia previa, sapientis regis et justis gubernantur prudentia." F. Delorme, "Fratris Guillelmi de Sarzano Tractatus de excellentia principatus regalis," *Antonianum* 15 (1940), 241–242.

¹⁴⁶ "Sermo in cathedra S. Petri," inc. "*Domini est assumptio nostra*": Bibl. Ang. 150, fols. 162r–165v, where the passage appears on fol. 163v. The rubric of a second copy of this sermon, in a Neapolitan manuscript, specifies that that it was preached "de assumptione cuiusdam ad papatum:" see Goetz, *König Robert*, 52n.

Tractatus de principatu temporali, though ostensibly a treatise on imperial power, turned to the question of Robert's "ignoble" subjection to the Church, which François devoted the last pages of his tract to disproving.¹⁴⁷ Two other works from François' student days in Paris tackled the same issue. His *Questio de obedientia*, for instance, was principally a work of moral philosophy, but was inspired by a desire to defend King Robert from his detractors: "To illustrate that subjection signifies nobility—contrary to those who believe subjection to degrade the nobility of the king of Sicily—this question has been posed, whether obedience is the noblest of the moral virtues." After devoting the bulk of the tract to an exposition of the moral virtues, François returned, in his conclusion, to his opening point: that the obedience evident in Robert's recognized subjection to the Church made him superior to other princes.¹⁴⁸ His *Questio de subiectione* addressed, in Part I, whether the emperor were or were not subject *de iure* to the pope. Part Two, however, was devoted to disproving the "many people [who] consider that the prince who alone explicitly recognizes his subjection to the Church in temporal matters is abject with servitude, and place him beneath other rulerships."¹⁴⁹ Finally, François wrote a fourth work, *De principatu regni Sicilie*, whose central focus was a defense of Robert against the "superficial logic of those who believe this rulership to be less noble on account of its subjection."¹⁵⁰

To counter these detractors, François argued that Robert's subjection to the Church made him superior, not inferior, to other princes. That subjection could denote superiority went against general opinion, as François was well aware. He thus set out his case

¹⁴⁷ See above, n. 144.

¹⁴⁸ "Ad ostendendum quod aliqua subiectio importat nobilitatem, contra illos qui nobilitatem regis Sicilie alias declaratam et subiectionem obfuscare intuentur, fuit questio introducta: utrum obedientia sit nobilissima virtutum moralium." A fragment of this *questio*, found in Oxford, Balliol College, MS 70, fol. 119v, is edited in de l'Apparent, "L'œuvre politique," 118–119. A complete copy of the work is found in Assisi, Bibl. Com., MS 179, fols. 60r–71v, with the cited passage on fol. 60v.

¹⁴⁹ "Sed tamen nonnulli . . . illum principem qui solus recognoscit se expresse in temporalibus esse subiectum Ecclesie reputant servituti obnoxium ipsius dominum ceteris principatibus postponentes." See the edition of de l'Apparent, "L'œuvre politique," 76–92, where the cited passage appears on 87. For the dating of the work, see *ibid.*, 12, and Bartholomäus Roth, *Franz von Mayronis OFM: Sein Leben, seine Werke, seine Lehre vom Formalunterschied in Gott* (Werl i. W., 1936), 83, 184–5.

¹⁵⁰ "Superficialem cogitationem illorum qui credunt istum principatum ex tali subiectione minus nobilem esse." This work is also edited by de l'Apparent, "L'œuvre politique," at 94–116, where this passage appears on 95.

with care, reiterating a similar series of arguments and analogies in all his pro-Angevin tracts. His basic principle, drawn (he informs us) from Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram*, is that an inferior thing is better when it is joined to a superior thing than when it exists simply for its own sake; and such joining between hierarchically superposed entities, by definition, involves the subjection of one to the other.¹⁵¹ François illustrated this principle with several examples. Both animals and humans have a sensitive nature, for instance. In animals it exists for its own sake; in humans it is subordinated to a higher, intellectual nature, and this subordination ennoble the sensitive nature in humans, making it superior to that of animals. Or again: political virtues are practiced by both pagan and Christian rulers. Pagan rulers practice them for their own sake. Christian rulers, however, subordinate them to the higher, theological virtues, and so ennoble the political virtues themselves.¹⁵² François also illustrated the superiority of subordination in a tripartite schema, through the three natures of man. Here, where the highest level is the intellective nature that is rational by essence, the others are hierarchized according to their degree of subjection to it. Thus the sensitive nature (unable to reason for itself, but ruled by and obeying reason) is superior to the vegetative nature, which is deaf to reason's call.¹⁵³

Once he had proven that subordination could signify superiority, François applied this principle to his main subject, the hierarchy of rulerships. He identified four levels of rule.¹⁵⁴ The lowest was purely

¹⁵¹ Citing henceforth by the tracts' titles, all in the editions of de l'Apparent: *De principatu temporalis*, 68; *De subiectione*, 80; *De principatu regni Sicilie*, 100. François defines "inferior" and "superior" according to a commonplace of medieval theology: that the end is always superior to the means, and that humanity's ultimate end is eternal life in God. This, too, is often repeated in the three works.

¹⁵² *De principatu temporalis*, 69; *De subiectione*, 89–90; *De principatu regni Sicilie*, 98. These are, in fact, only a few of his examples. Others include the superiority of the sensitive nature in "perfect men" over that in impetuous boys (much like that of beasts and humans cited above), the superiority of learning in theologians over that in natural scientists, and the superiority of the rational nature in Christ (where it is subordinated to His divine nature) over that in humanity.

¹⁵³ *De principatu temporalis*, 69–70.

¹⁵⁴ *De principatu regni Sicilie*, 96–97. In the *De principatu temporalis*, François offers a simpler, tripartite division, in which the celestial hierarchy is omitted and the Church is described simply as spiritual by essence. François surely used this model here to conform with the tripartite division of man's nature, which he had just outlined, and which he explicitly connected to this tripartite division of rulerships in the universe. The quadripartite division, however, seems to me the more developed model

temporal rulership, such as most princes performed. The second was temporal by essence, but spiritual by participation: this defined Robert's rule, which was essentially directed at worldly matters, but which participated in the spiritual by virtue of its subjection to the papacy.¹⁵⁵ The third level was spiritual by essence, and temporal by participation. This was the level of the Church, which was essentially directed at spiritual things, but participated in the temporal sphere as an overseer and ultimate authority in all matters relating to Christian people. Finally, the highest, purely spiritual level was otherworldly: that of the celestial hierarchy.

Thus, François concluded, it was not true that the King of Sicily and Jerusalem was less noble than other princes on account of his recognized subjection to the papacy. On the contrary, Robert, who obeyed the papacy in both temporal and spiritual things, was like Adam and Eve in the Garden, obedient to the superior, divine will in all things, whereas those who refused part of this obedience were like humanity after the Fall.¹⁵⁶ Or again, Robert was like the Archangel Michael in the celestial hierarchy, who accepted the Lord's domination, whereas other princes were like Lucifer, the disobedient angel, who wished to rule himself.¹⁵⁷ By such schemas and analogies, François managed to associate purely secular rule with man's basest, vegetative, or fallen nature, with the status of animals and pagans, and even with the disobedience of Satan. More important, he turned Robert's status as a papal vassal from a weakness to a strength. His rule was nobler and more perfect because it conformed more closely

and the one which better reflects François' belief in the Church's temporal powers and duties.

¹⁵⁵ A similar argument about temporal rulers' participation (through subjection) in divine power, and their consequent role as "divinum organum sive minister Dei", was made by Giles of Rome in his *De regimine principum*, Book I, 1:12. The passage is highlighted in Wilhelm Berges, *Die Fürstenspiegel des hohen und späten Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1938), 216.

¹⁵⁶ *De principatu temporalis*, 70. The identification of Robert with Adam and Eve, and of other princes with man's fallen nature, is explicit: having just referred to the "King of Sicily," he writes: "Ideo iste principatus qui obedit omnino tam in temporalibus quam in spiritualibus assimilatur statum innocentie. Ille autem qui obedit tantum spiritualibus, assimilatur statum nature lapse."

¹⁵⁷ *De principatu regni Sicilie*, 104: "Et ideo sicut principatus Michaelis fuit ex subiectione nobilitatus, ita et iste [principatus regni Sicilie]; unde sicut ille maxime subiectus in celo principatui ierarchico, ita ille [*sic*: iste] in terra principatui ecclesiastico." Cf. *De principatu temporalis*, 72, where the identification of Robert with Archangel Michael is less explicit.

with its ultimate end, divine law, which was manifested on earth through the Church. His double subjection made him the sole inhabitant of a privileged hierarchical stratum: temporal by essence, but spiritual by participation.

Admittedly, Robert participated in the spiritual realm by being subject to it. But it was easy enough to gloss over the humbling means of his participation and concentrate on the participation itself. We can detect this subtle shift already in François' reference to the archangel Michael. On the one hand, Michael exemplified (virtuous, superior) subjection: when Lucifer boasted that he would soar above the clouds and rival God, an astonished Michael had responded, "Quis sicut Deus?"—"who is like God?" On the other hand, the prevalent medieval interpretation of this story emphasized less Michael's subjection to divine authority than his absorption into it. According to Isidore of Seville, whose *Etymologiarum* was a widely used exegetical handbook in the later Middle Ages, the point was not that Michael said "quis sicut Deus," but that his name meant "quis sicut Deus"—one who is like God—for Michael was God's representative on earth.¹⁵⁸ The analogy François drew between King Robert and Michael thus simultaneously praised Robert's obedience to the higher power of the papacy, and implicitly assimilated Robert ("who is like God") into that higher power.

In other passages, François more explicitly assimilated Robert into the sacrality of the Church. For instance, he equated defense of Robert's kingdom with defense of the Church. The spiritual goods of the Church, he proposed, could be visualized as a castle; the temporal goods of the Church formed the bulwark, or outer wall, encircling the castle. To defend the bulwark was, in a sense, even more virtuous than defending the castle itself: would one not value more

¹⁵⁸ Kenneth Pennington, *Pope and Bishops: The Papal Monarchy in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1984), 111. One may note the tension raised by Isidore's explanation: Michael was here identified with the very claim—being "just as God"—which denoted Lucifer's hubris. Hostiensis, for one, pointed out this paradox: when considering Pope Innocent III's claim to be God's representative on earth, he asked whether the pope's claim made him more like Michael, or more like Lucifer. Hostiensis' remarks indicate the wide currency of the image, and its association with the pope's (and thus princes') claims to power. I doubt that François meant to evoke the skepticism of Hostiensis' remark, which runs counter to the friar's publicistic aims. It seems more likely that he was playing on the double image of Michael as both obedient to God and Godlike himself, drawing on Isidore's well-known exegesis without calling attention to the paradox it contained.

highly the soldier who risked his life at the first sign of danger than the soldier who waited until the enemy was at the castle doors? Now Robert's realm was, technically speaking, one of the temporal possessions of the Church: it was the bulwark. Thus any subject who gave his life defending the kingdom was to be ranked among the martyrs of the Church.¹⁵⁹ François still distinguished here between the Church and Robert's political realm, but the identification was so close as to make an Angevin patriot into a Christian martyr. The passage recalls those sermons that described Provence and Naples as holy lands, and like them it cultivated subjects' allegiance to the dynasty—not, as elsewhere, on the basis of St. Louis' sanctity, but through the crown's identification with Holy Church.

If this identification might stimulate subjects' allegiance, it might also dissuade potential rebels or skeptics of Angevin legitimacy. As François claimed in his *De subiectione*, Robert's realm was "maximally joined to the ecclesiastical hierarchy and intimately incorporated in it," and "since truly the universal Church is guided by the Holy Spirit, and so, according to Christ's promise, is not permitted to err in temporal judgments, therefore the prince instituted by the Church can himself securely claim to rule."¹⁶⁰ The infallible judgment of the Holy Spirit confirmed Robert. In the face of such an authority, no challenge to his rule could be valid. Indeed, in another passage François ventured that Robert's rule was not only holy and divinely instituted but itself divine. The passage began with a rather prosaic discussion of four virtues through which the interior or spiritual self overcomes the temptations of the exterior, worldly self. The highest of these four, above perseverance, continence, and temperance, was the "heroic virtue," in the face of which temptation did not even dare to show itself. This virtue, "*quasi divina*," transcended human goodness; it was exemplified by the Trojan hero Hector, whose father Priam said he seemed more the son of God than the son of mortal men, and by St. Francis, who perfectly subjected his flesh to the commands of his spirit. Thus far, François had associated the subjection of the worldly to the spiritual with supernatural virtue (Francis),

¹⁵⁹ *De principatu regni Sicilie*, 114–115.

¹⁶⁰ "Cum iste principatus inter políticos sit maxime conjunctus ecclesiastice ierarchie et intime incorporatus, ex hoc maxime videtur dignus. . . . Quia vero Ecclesia universalis Spiritus Sancti illustratione dirigitur et in iudiciis temporalis non sic errare permittitur, juxta Christi promissum, ideo princeps per Ecclesiam institutus secure tenere potest se principari." *De subiectione*, 88–89.

and evoked the name of a “divine” classical king. Next, he applied these associations to King Robert: “therefore this most noble principate [i.e. Robert’s] is heroic, since by means of heroic virtue the exterior or temporal man is perfectly subjected to the spiritual or interior man; and as the heroic virtue is called divine, so this principate is said to be divine.”¹⁶¹

In this passage it was longer the celestial hierarchy, nor even the earthly Church, but Robert’s own temporal rule which was divinized. Such analogies were not uncommon among late-medieval writers. Since the early thirteenth century, theorists had drawn comparisons with God in order to describe the nature of the pope’s powers, and such language was soon borrowed to describe secular rulers’ powers as well.¹⁶² Angevin jurists, for instance (citing an analogy that originally applied to a prosaic point of inheritance law) felt free to describe the Neapolitan king as “an earthly god.”¹⁶³ Closer to François’ meaning were the statements of Giles of Rome, who asserted that a prince’s subjection to the Church made him a “divine organ or minister of God.” Like François’ comparison of Robert to the archangel Michael—a comparison more commonly applied to the popes—François’ imagery resonated with a rich exegetical tradition.

His arguments echoed as well the propagandistic strategies of contemporary kings, though with a twist. Like the Capetian kings of France, who styled themselves “most Christian kings” and even “semi-

¹⁶¹ “Nunc igitur iste principatus nobilissimus est eroycus, quia admodum virtutis eroyce homo exterior, scilicet temporalis, homini spirituali qui est quasi interior perfectissime est subjectus; et ideo sicut virtus eroycæ dicitur divina, ita iste principatus dicitur divinus esse.” Ibid., 102.

¹⁶² On the attribution of divine qualities to the pope, see Pennington, *Pope and Bishops*, 13–42.

¹⁶³ In his commentary on the Constitutions of Melfi, Marino da Caramanico explained the passage “divinae coniungimus ultioni” (Lib. I, tit. 6), by writing, “thus the prince is called an earthly god, according to one interpretation of Digest 35. 2.1.5” (“et ideo princeps dicitur deus terrenus, secundum unam expositionem ff. ad leg. Falcid. l.i. Ad nuncipium”: ed. cit., 17). The Digest passage to which he was referring states that a Roman citizen could give part of his inheritance to God; medieval jurists then likened the emperor’s rights to God, since subjects could also bequeath part of their inheritance to the emperor. As this example illustrates, the core of such comparisons was an effort to describe, by analogy, the special rights and powers of the prince, which set him above other men. As the comparison became severed from its original context, however, it came to seem less an *ad hoc* analogy than a general identification of prince and God—an ambiguity that jurists no doubt relished. I thank Kenneth Pennington for helping me to unpack the several layers of Marino’s comment.

gods,” the Angevin was imbued with a sacred quality and exalted above other princes. Unlike other kings, this sacrality was not coupled with assertions of independence from papal jurisdiction. Since Robert could not claim to be a *rex qui nulli subest*, his supporters simply inverted the value of such a status, painting it as the ignominy of Lucifer and the taint of fallen humanity, while Robert, by contrast, emerged as the shining example of God’s intended order on earth.

Sacred by Blood: Beata stirps

While Robert’s publicists exploited his ties to the papacy to portray him as pious and even sacred, the royal dynasty placed equal emphasis on a separate strategy: casting the royal family as sacred in its own right, by virtue of a hereditary holiness. André Vauchez has noted the emergence of this theme of *beata stirps* in the thirteenth century. The concept of sacred royalty was known in the early Middle Ages, but in following centuries the Church had increasingly asserted a monopoly over the sacred: by distinguishing more insistently between clergy and laity, by attributing quasi-clerical status to royalty only through a Church-controlled anointment, and by asserting the papacy’s unique right to authorize saints’ cults, among other methods. *Beata stirps* represented a creative response to these developments, for through it dynasties still claimed a heritable sacrality, but now on the basis of the family’s possession, in its ancestry, of one or more of those Church-authorized saints.¹⁶⁴ The notion seems to have been developed earliest by the Capetian and Árpád dynasties, which enjoyed the privilege, by now rare for royal houses, of a recently canonized member.

The Capetians, for instance, were emphasizing their descent from the recently canonized Charlemagne by the turn of the thirteenth century; however, it was the canonization of their own Louis IX (d. 1270) that galvanized these associations into an explicit program of *beata stirps*.¹⁶⁵ A similar emphasis on dynastic sanctity is evident in

¹⁶⁴ André Vauchez, “*Beata stirps*. Sainteté et lignage en Occident aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles,” in *Famille et parenté dans l’Occident médiéval*, ed. Georges Duby and Jacques Le Goff (Rome, 1977), 397–399; idem, *Sainthood*, 177–183.

¹⁶⁵ On Capetian claims of descent from Charlemagne, already venerated as an illustrious predecessor in the twelfth century, see Gabrielle Spiegel, “The *Reditus*

thirteenth-century Hungary.¹⁶⁶ By 1200, Hungary could boast three saint-kings: Stephen who had converted his people to Christianity in the eleventh century, his son Emeric, and Ladislas, canonized in 1192. With the canonization of a royal princess, Elizabeth of Thuringia, in 1235, the ruling Árpád house could boast an impressive heritage of sainted members. Elizabeth's grand-niece Margaret, herself a candidate for sainthood upon her death in 1270, consciously modelled herself upon these holy ancestors; their dynastic unity was emphasized as well in works of art, where the four began to appear as an iconographic unit by the end of the century.¹⁶⁷ Kings Stephen V and Ladislas IV promoted the cults of their namesakes in particular: their frequent invocation in official documents of "our saintly royal ancestors" amounted, as Gabor Klaniczay has observed, to "an intimation of the entire dynasty's saintliness."¹⁶⁸

It was the Angevins of Naples, however, who drew upon the burgeoning tradition of the Capetians and Árpáds to become "the first to make the notion of dynastic saintliness the cornerstone of the sacral legitimization of their new dynasty."¹⁶⁹ The Angevins were themselves Capetians, if a cadet branch, and it is not surprising that they drew upon the ideology of their relatives once established as a royal dynasty themselves. Indeed, Charles I was one of the early architects of the Capetian *beata stirps*. "A holy root produces holy branches," Charles declared when testifying for his brother Louis IX's canonization. According to Charles, their mother Blanche had died in an odor of sanctity, and not only Louis but their other brothers Alphonse

Regni ad Stirpem Karoli Magni. A New Look," in idem, *The Past as Text. The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore, 1997), 111–137. As Spiegel observes, the claim to Carolingian descent originated as a justification of political policy, not dynastic legitimacy or sacrality.

¹⁶⁶ Vauchez, "Beata stirps," 400–403; Gabor Klaniczay, "Le culte des saints dynastiques en Europe Centrale (Angevins et Luxembourgs au XIV^e siècle)," in *L'Eglise et le peuple chrétien dans les pays de l'Europe du Centre-Est et du Nord, XIV^e–XV^e siècles* (Rome, 1990), 221–247.

¹⁶⁷ On Margaret's emulation of sainted forebears, see Gabor Klaniczay, "The Cinderella Effect," 56–57; Vauchez, "Beata stirps," 400. On the depiction of the four Árpád saints together, see Gabor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, trans. Éva Pálmai (Cambridge, Eng., 2002), 298. I thank Professor Klaniczay for kindly sharing the manuscript of his study with me before its publication.

¹⁶⁸ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 298.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

of Poitiers and Robert of Artois deserved to be considered saints as well.¹⁷⁰ What is more, Charles increased the sacral dimension of his own dynasty by marrying into the other burgeoning *beata stirps* of the late thirteenth century, the Árpád house of Hungary. He was well aware of their advantageous reputation: in his letter to Stephen V in 1269, Charles noted that the Hungarian king was “descended from a line of saints and distinguished kings” before going on to propose a double union between their houses. His proposal resulted in the marriage of Charles’ daughter Isabelle to Ladislas IV, and of Charles’ son and heir, Charles II, to Stephen’s daughter Maria.¹⁷¹

While Charles I laid the groundwork for an Angevin *beata stirps* and Charles II’s marriage to Maria furthered it, it was Robert’s generation—the first offspring of both the Capetian and Árpád lines—that saw its fulfilment. The Angevin house, no longer a lower branch on the Capetian family tree, now represented a rare synthesis of two great royal and saintly lines. Both Robert and his entourage preached repeatedly in honor of such saintly relatives as Louis IX and Elizabeth of Thuringia.¹⁷² Queen Sancia was careful to note her own descent from Elizabeth when she wrote to the Franciscan Chapter assembling in 1316:

Know, fathers, that God caused me to be descended from such a lineage and family tree. . . . to be a descendant of blessed Elizabeth, who was such a true and devoted daughter of blessed Francis and a mother of his order. She was the blood sister of the lady mother of my father, lord James, well remembered king of Majorca.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 182. His mother, Blanche of Castile, had ended her life as a nun; his brothers Robert of Artois and Alphonse of Poitiers were deserving (according to Charles) on account of their crusading fervor.

¹⁷¹ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 299–300.

¹⁷² Giovanni Regina preached on Louis IX in 1314, in the sermon inc. “*Bene omnia fecit*”: Paris, BN, MS lat. 14799, fols. 163r–164v. See Kaeppli, “Note sugli scrittori,” 58–59. Robert preached two sermons that celebrated Louis IX and/or Louis of Anjou. One bears the rubric “*Sermo dom. Regis Sicilie in festo s. Ludovici regis Francie, et posset esse de s. Ludovico episcopo domino fratre suo, paucis dictionibus commutatis*”: Bibl. Ang. 151, at fol. 193. The other, inc. “*Considerate lilia agri* (Matt. 6:28),” was explicitly for both saints: Venice, Bibl. Marc., MS 2101, fol. 97. For Elizabeth of Thuringia, François de Meyronnes preached the sermon inc. “*Hec erat in omnibus famosissima, timebat enim Deum valde* (Judith 8:8)”: Vat. Chigi B IV 44, fols. 144r–145r. Robert’s sermons on St. Elizabeth are nos. 102 and 248 in the catalog of J.-B. Schneyer, *Repertorium*.

¹⁷³ The letter is translated in Musto, “Queen Sancia,” where this passage appears on 208.

Curiously, however, none of the sermons devoted exclusively to Louis IX or Elizabeth mentioned their relation to the Angevin rulers. The explanation for this rather curious omission may be their early dating, for some and perhaps all were preached before Louis of Anjou's canonization in 1317, during the period when the Angevin *beata stirps* was still in the process of construction.

Certainly after Louis' canonization, in sermons and works of art celebrating him, the dynastic theme was supreme. Robert commissioned several works of art portraying Louis in a dynastic context. The earliest and most celebrated was the panel painting commissioned from Simone Martini soon after Louis' canonization, which depicted the saint in the act of conferring the Neapolitan crown upon Robert.¹⁷⁴ A quarter-century later, Robert or Sancia commissioned from a Neapolitan painter known as the "Master of Giovanni Barrile" a tempera-on-wood panel depicting the royal couple at Saint Louis' feet, emphasizing both their pious veneration of the saint and their familial links to him (Plate 3).¹⁷⁵ Finally, in the last decade of Robert's reign Lello da Orvieto completed a fresco of "The Redeemer Enthroned" in which Louis stands among the apostles and other saints flanking Christ, while the royal family—Robert, Sancia, Robert's son Charles of Calabria, and Charles' daughter Joanna—kneel at Christ's feet (Plate 4). By this time Charles of Calabria was dead and Joanna was the chosen heir to the throne of Naples; the painting thus emphasized, again, the dynastic continuity of the Angevin family under the auspices of their sainted relative and of Christ himself.¹⁷⁶

Other forms of art from 1317 forward also emphasized the Angevins' holy lineage. An Angevin book of hours produced before 1317 already featured ornate images of Louis IX and Elizabeth of Thuringia, but after Louis of Anjou's canonization Robert requested the addition of his brother's life to the manuscript.¹⁷⁷ Another Neapolitan leg-

¹⁷⁴ See n. 91 above.

¹⁷⁵ The same artist painted the frescoes of the Barrile Chapel in San Lorenzo (whence his name), and is considered a Neapolitan follower of Giotto. The panel is generally dated to the early or mid-1330s, in any case before 1340, when, according to a tradition related by Guillebert, Sancia gave it to a Clarissan convent in Aix-en-Provence. See Bologna, *I pittori*, 211; B. Guillebert, "Deux statuettes polychromées de saint Louis de Provence, évêque de Toulouse, et de sainte Consoce conservées à Aix-en-Provence," *Bulletin archéologique*, s.v. (1902), 284. I thank Bernard Terlay, conservator of the Musée Granet in Aix, for the latter reference.

¹⁷⁶ Bologna, *I pittori*, 131–3.

¹⁷⁷ Klaniczay, "Le culte des saints dynastiques," 223.

endary produced during Robert's reign featured the same three royal saints; here, however, the male line was favored, for the two saints Louis were honored with miniature portraits in their illuminated initials, while Elizabeth, "late queen of Hungary" (*sic*) was not.¹⁷⁸ On the tombs of Charles of Calabria (d. 1328) and his wife Marie (d. 1331), the two saints Louis are depicted presenting the deceased to the Virgin, while on Robert's tomb they are again paired in the background behind the reclining king (Plates 5 and 6).¹⁷⁹ When Robert's sister-in-law, Catherine of Valois-Courtenay, died in 1323, a tomb was built for her in the Neapolitan church of S. Domenico that featured St. Elizabeth as its central figure.¹⁸⁰ The most extensive visual display of the dynasty's holy lineage, however, is found in the Clarissan convent and church of Santa Maria Donna Regina, refounded by Maria after an earthquake of 1293 and constructed and decorated over the next several decades.¹⁸¹ On a side wall of the nuns' choir, beneath a fresco cycle on the events of the Passion, is featured an iconographically dense cycle of scenes from the life of Maria's great-aunt, Saint Elizabeth of Thuringia; beside them, and beneath an image of the apostles gathered together at Pentecost, another fresco depicts the three Hungarian saint-kings, Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislav (Plate 7).¹⁸² While Hungarian saints dominate, the choir's imagery as a whole celebrated the Angevin dynastic synthesis. The rear wall of the choir, completely covered by a fresco of the Last Judgment, depicted the saints of the male line, Louis IX and Louis of Anjou, among the sainted company at Christ's right

¹⁷⁸ Apart from manuscript catalogers, this legendary—Naples, Bibl. Naz., MS VIII B 9—seems to have escaped scholarly notice. Cesare Cenci has noted that it was copied in the fourteenth century at the Neapolitan convent of San Domenico, by a single hand: see his *Manoscritti francescani della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli*, 2 vols. (Quaracchi, 1971), 2: 805–6. It was almost certainly produced during Robert's reign, for Louis of Anjou is identified as "the son of the late King Charles II and brother of the most wise King Robert" on fol. 68ra. The legend of Louis IX starts on fol. 87ra, that for Elizabeth on fol. 169vb.

¹⁷⁹ Bertaux, "Les saints Louis dans l'art italien," 633–34.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 76–88; Julian Gardner, "A Princess among Prelates. A Fourteenth-Century Neapolitan Tomb and its Northern Relations," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 23–24 (1988), 31–60.

¹⁸¹ On the history of the convent, see Émile Bertaux, *Santa Maria di Donna Regina e l'arte senese a Napoli nel secolo XIV* (Naples, 1899), 9–15.

¹⁸² Bertaux identifies the three saints in this last panel as Stephen, Ladislav, and Elizabeth; I follow Gabor Klaniczay in identifying the third Hungarian royal saint as Emeric. See his *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 313, 316.

hand (Plate 8). Finally, Maria's tomb, sculpted by Tino da Camaino around 1325 and placed in the church, underscored Maria's role in this synthesis of holy royal lineages. Beneath the reclining figure of the queen, a bas-relief depicted all her sons, with Saint Louis occupying the position of honor in the center (Plate 9).¹⁸³

In sermons, too, Louis of Anjou's canonization provided the spur to preachers' assiduous promotion of the Angevins' saintly descent. François de Meyronnes dwelt upon it at length:

What is written in Numbers 24, *A star shall come out of Jacob*, can be said of Louis. Regarding the French race . . . [Louis] and several other canonized saints came from it, of whom one is Saint Charlemagne, buried where the emperors are crowned, and another Saint Louis, King of the French. There follows, *And a man [sic] shall rise out of Israel*, and this is the kingdom of Hungary, which is in the east . . . and as there are three canonized saints from the French line, so from the Hungarian; and these lines were conjoined in this glorious saint [Louis of Anjou], who traces his origins from them on both sides.¹⁸⁴

In other sermons François dilated upon the uniqueness of this heritage. Louis' maternal and paternal families were the only royal lineages recently consecrated, François asserted, referring to the thirteenth-century canonizations of Elizabeth and Louis IX.¹⁸⁵ In yet a third sermon on Louis of Anjou, François returned again to Elizabeth, claiming that she was the only woman of a royal family to be recently canonized.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ A hierarchy is observed in the order of the other sons as well. Flanking Louis are the crowned kings, Robert and Charles Martel, king of Hungary. Beside them are Philip of Taranto and John of Durazzo/Gravina respectively; at the outer extremes are the sons who died young, Peter of Eboli and Raymond Berengar. Maria's eighth son, John Tristan, died in infancy and was not pictured. See W.R. Valentiner, *Tino da Camaino. A Siennese Sculptor of the Fourteenth Century* (Paris, 1935), 101–104.

¹⁸⁴ "Unde de ipso [Ludovico] in figura potest dici quod scribitur Num. 24, *Orietur stella ex Iacob*. Quantum ad gentem francorum . . . de ista gente fuit iste et plures alii sancti canonizati, quorum unus est sanctus Carolus Magnus qui sepultum est ubi coronantur imperatores, alius rex francorum sanctus Ludovicus. Sequitur *Et exsurget homo ex Israel [sic]*, et istud est rengnum Ungarie, qui est ad oriente . . . et sic ex stirpe francorum sunt tres sancti canonizati, ex stirpe Ungarie; et iste linee coniuncte fuerunt in sancto isto glorioso, qui de utraque parte traxit originem." From a hitherto unknown sermon by François, inc. "*Nova lux oriri*": Vat. Chigi B IV 43, fols. 102r–103r, at fol. 102r.

¹⁸⁵ "Ista sola duo regna inter regia fuerunt nostris temporibus consecrata." From the sermon "*Luce [splendida] fulgebis*," Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Arbaud, MS 21, fols. 108vb–110va, at fol. 109v. This phrase lacks from the early printed editions: see above, n. 104.

¹⁸⁶ "Et novissime nulla mulier de alio sanguine regio fuit canonizata nisi sancta

Another sermon by François emphasized Louis' saintly lineage even while noting his rejection of its royal status:

[Louis] is commended on account of the level of lordship he rejected, since he fled, and his brother advanced [in his place]. Judges 9: *The trees went to the olive tree and said, Come and reign over us. The olive responded, Why should I give up my sweetness and go to be promoted over the trees?* The trees are brothers, sisters, relatives, and friends. The sweetness is the savor of eternal glory and hope. And the relatives [are] those saints he had on both sides, since on his father's side are three sainted kings of France, that is, Saint Charlemagne—and Saint Louis, and on his mother's side he had three who were from the house of the king of Hungary. Louis said therefore to his relatives and friends, How can I give up the sweetness of the saints and come to be promoted over you?¹⁸⁷

The passage offers an interesting twist on the common trope of rejecting earthly glory in favor of heavenly, for in Louis' case, the former was not a profane alternative to be despised. His royal heritage was itself sacral, as the sermon's genealogical exposition made clear—and, as was also underlined, its headship had passed to Louis' brother Robert.

Robert's own sermons emphasized the same points, if more subtly. The ancestral tradition of sainted royalty was prominent in the king's choice to preach on the two saints Louis together. His chosen theme was *Consider the lilies of the field* (Matt. 6:28), and indeed these "lilies"—an allusion to the fleur-de-lys that graced both Capetian and Angevin heraldry—were gathered together in his exposition.¹⁸⁸ Robert also stressed the unity of Louis and his brothers in the sermon he preached for the translation of Louis' remains to a more

Elisabeth de cuius stirpe mater beati Lodovici fuit": from the sermon inc. "*Humiliavit semetipsum*," edited in "De S. Ludovico episcopo Tolosano: Sermo magistri Francisci de Mayronis," *Analecta Ordinis Minorum Capucinorum* 13 (1897), at 311.

¹⁸⁷ From the sermon inc. "*Cum cognovisset*," Assisi, Bibl. Com., MS 513, fols. 132v–135r, at fols. 132v–133r. "Sed commendatur propter gradum dominacionis abiectum, quia fugit, cuius frater processit. Iud. 9: *venerunt lingua ad olivam et dixerunt, veni et impera nobis. Qui respondit, numquid possum relinquere dulcedinem meam et venire ut inter ligna promover?* Ligna sunt fratres sorores et consanguinei et amici. Dulceto sapor eternalis glorie et spes. Et parentes quos sanctos habuit ex utraque linea, quia ex parte patris tres reges Francie sanctos, scilicet Carolum Magnum sanctum—et sanctum Ludoycum; et ex parte matris habuit etiam tres qui fuit de domo regis Ungarie." A second copy of the sermon (Aix, Bibl. Arbaud, MS 21, fols. 81v–83r) lacks the genealogical passage cited here.

¹⁸⁸ Venice, Bibl. Marc., MS 2101, fol. 97, inc. "*Considerate lilia agri* (Matt. 6:28)." This sermon is no. 235 in the catalog by J.-B. Schneyer, *Repertorium*.

impressive tomb in Marseille in 1319, which extended the floral metaphor:

It can properly be said of Saint Louis what is written in Ecclesiasticus, Chapter Fifty, about Simon the son of Onias: *with a garland [corona] of brothers around him*. Indeed a garland of brothers was around him, when he praised God in the choir or in saying the Divine Office, when he preached to them what was suitable through his words, or by the oracle of his living voice, when he informed them ceaselessly by his sustaining example; and now in Marseille, [his garland of brothers] surrounds his most sacred body in dutiful mourning.¹⁸⁹

Robert's preachers made much more of the diffusion of holy blood to all members of the dynasty when they preached in honor of Angevin princes—although, curiously, they mention only the male, “French” side. In his funeral sermon for Robert's brother, Philip of Taranto, Giovanni Regina noted that a good tree bears good fruit, and Philip's “tree” was the house of France, “which is good, a lover and defender of the Church, from which two Saints Louis were recently canonized.”¹⁹⁰ Giovanni repeated the comment in a sermon for Robert's other brother, John of Durazzo, but with more emphasis on the many familial links between Angevin princes and saints:

[John] was the son of a king and the brother of a king, sprung from the most noble house of France through the straight or male line; from which house two saints were recently canonized, namely Saint Louis bishop of Toulouse, who was John's brother, and Saint Louis, king of France, who was the brother of King Charles I, John's grandfather.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ “Proprie potest dici de beato Ludovico illud quod scriptum est de Symeone Onie, Eccl. 50: *Circa illum corona fratrum*. Corona enim fratrum fuit circa illum, cum Deum laudaret in choro vel in divino officio, cum eis predicaret id quod deceret verbo, seu vive vocis oraculo, cum eos informaret iugiter victuali exemplo, et nunc Massilie, circa eius corpus sacratissimum, assiduo obsequio.” The sermon is edited in Pásztor, *Per la storia*, 69–81, where the passage appears on 78.

¹⁹⁰ “Sicut dicitur Mt. 7, *arbor bona bonos fructus facit*. Arbor bona potest dici domus Francie, que est bona; et quo ad Deum, ut pote amatrix et defensatrix ecclesie, de qua de novo duo sancti Ludovici canonizati sunt.” From the sermon inc. “*Princeps et maximus cecidit hodie*,” Naples, Bibl. Naz., MS VIII AA 11, fol. 19r.

¹⁹¹ “Fuit filius regis et frater regis de domo nobilissima Francie per lineam rectam seu masculinam ortus, de qua domo fuerunt duo sancti de novo canonizati, scilicet sanctus Ludovicus episcopus Tholosanus, qui fuit frater ipsius, et sanctus Ludovicus rex Francie, qui fuit frater primi regis Karoli, avi eius.” From the sermon inc. “*Placuit Deo et translatus est*,” found in the same manuscript (see previous note), at fol. 36v.

Federico Franconi, similarly, noted that John of Durazzo was a “brother” not only to the kings of Naples and Hungary, but to the kings and princes of France.¹⁹² The same claims, finally, were made for Robert’s son, Duke Charles of Calabria. Preaching on the anniversary of the young duke’s death,¹⁹³ Giovanni Regina introduced the image of iron, “strongest of all metals,” as a metaphor for Christian love and, by extension, for the man who is a friend of God. “And as it pertains to our subject, this strong iron was saints Louis king of France and Louis bishop of Toulouse, both strong in love of God, to whom Charles was tied [*vinctus*] by his earthly origins.” The adjective *vinctus*, literally “chained,” recalled the image of iron, and associated it now with the Angevin bloodline: this strongest substance linked Charles with his ancestors, a substance that was not only blood but the love of God that made those ancestors saints.¹⁹⁴ Bertrand de Turre, a French supporter of the Angevins, emphasized that Charles followed in the tradition of his family in defending the faith, for “the House of France, from which this leader is descended, often had leadership of the Christian people . . . [leaders] such as Clovis, Pippin, Charlemagne, Saint Louis [IX], and indeed Charles [I of Anjou].”¹⁹⁵ And this holy lineage, devoted to defense of the Church, represented God’s chosen people for whom the subjects of the realm should pray. So Giovanni Regina emphasized in a sermon honoring Charles of Calabria shortly before his death. Charles’ army, sent out to face the enemy Ludwig of Bavaria, was the “people of God” since

the lord duke is of the House of France, which was and is holier than any other house in the world; his great-grandfather fought the enemies of the Church and expelled them from the Kingdom of Sicily, and from his house, before all others, are two saints newly canonized, that is, Saint Louis King of France and Saint Louis the brother of

¹⁹² “Sic possumus dicere quod dominus Johannes fuit frater natura, et sic fuit frater regum Sicilie et Ungarie. Secundo fuit frater cognatione, id est parentela, et sic fuit frater regum et principum Francie.” From the sermon inc. “*Ego ad te venio*,” at fol. 134v: see above, n. 79.

¹⁹³ See above, n. 80.

¹⁹⁴ “Ferrum autem, quod est fortissimum inter omnia metalla, est caritas . . . et persona hominis que est amica Dei. . . . Et quantum spectat at presens, ferrum forte fuerunt sancti Ludovicus rex Francie et Ludovicus episcopus Tholosanus ambo fortes in amore Dei, quibus fuit vinctus carnali origine . . . dominus [Karolus].” From the sermon inc. “*In caritate perpetua dilexi te*”: Naples, Bibl. Naz., MS VIII AA 11, fol. 25r.

¹⁹⁵ Cited and translated in d’Avray, *Death and the Prince*, 152–153.

our king [Robert]. Whence 1 Peter 2 [:9], *you are a chosen race, a royal priesthood . . . a holy nation, God's own people. . .* Thus we must pray mostly and principally for our men, who are the people of God.¹⁹⁶

With such words the sanctity of the two saints Louis became one proof that Charles and his family were a “royal priesthood,” while his army, and by extension the realm’s subjects, became by association a “holy nation.”

Such memorial sermons illustrated that the virtues of a *beata stirps* extended even to mere mortal members of the bloodline; they formed a sort of terrestrial counterpart to the *sermone de sanctis* on St. Louis of Anjou. It is possible that the Last Judgement fresco in Santa Maria Donna Regina represents a visual expression of such parallelism. As mentioned above, the left part of the fresco, representing the saved, features Saints Louis IX and Louis of Anjou in an upper register among the saints; in the register beneath them, making their way in two clusters toward the heavenly Jerusalem at bottom, are the uncanonized elect, among whom Émile Bertaux has perceived portraits of some six deceased Angevins (Plate 8).¹⁹⁷ The recently proposed dating of this fresco to the early 1320s, rather than the early 1330s, makes many of these tenuous identifications very unlikely, for the persons Bertaux proposed would still have been alive.¹⁹⁸ Even if painted at this earlier date, it seems quite plausible that the third figure from the left, with his distinctive physiognomy and fleur-de-

¹⁹⁶ “Exercitus in servicio ecclesie . . . est populus Dei . . . Idem autem patet quia dominus dux est de domo Francie que super omnes domos mundi fuit et est magis sancta, et eius proavus impugnavit et debellavit hostes ecclesie et expulit de regno Sicilie, et de eius domo preter alios sunt duo sancti de novo canonizati scilicet sanctus Ludovicus rex Francie et s. Ludovicus frater domini nostri regis. 1 Pet. 2 [:9], *vos estis genus electum, regale sacerdotium . . . , gens sancta, populus acquisitionis. . .* Debemus principaliter et magis orare pro nostris qui sunt populus Dei.” From the sermon inc. “*Salvum fac populum tuum*”: Naples, Bibl. Naz., MS VIII AA 11, fol. 69v.

¹⁹⁷ Bertaux, *Santa Maria di Donna Regina*, 60–62. In addition to Charles II and Maria of Hungary, Bertaux proposed representations of Philip of Taranto (d. 1332), Charles of Calabria (d. 1328), Marie of Valois (d. 1331), and Robert’s first wife, Violante of Aragon (d. 1302).

¹⁹⁸ Bertaux dated the frescoes of the nuns’ choir to the early 1330s on stylistic grounds, a dating echoed in 1986 by Bologna, *I pittori* (see Tables III–48, III–52). Caroline Bruzelius has recently proposed that the entire choir’s decoration was completed by 1320, when the church was consecrated and presumably in use. Her conference paper, “The Convent of Santa Maria Donna Regina in Naples,” given at the International Medieval Congress in Kalamazoo, MI (May, 2001), will appear in *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina in Naples: Art, Iconography and Patronage in Fourteenth-Century Naples*, ed. Janis Elliott and Cordelia Warr.

lys crown, represented Charles II (d. 1309). The prominence of the crowned woman at the rear of the forward cluster, set off by the blank space behind her, invites speculation on her identity, proposed by Bertaux as that of Queen Maria herself; equally suggestive is the dark-clad figure second from left with his jutting Angevin jaw. The Angevin court was not above premature attribution of special spiritual status to the dynasty's members, as the Neapolitan archbishop's comments on "saint" Louis, even before his canonization, make clear.¹⁹⁹

Pious Publicity in the Fourteenth Century

One result of the Angevin court's intensive efforts to publicize the piety and sacrality of the dynasty was its emergence as an early example of trends soon to characterize fourteenth-century rulership generally. The many elaborate royal tombs sculpted by Tino da Camaino during Robert's reign inspired W. Valentiner to describe Angevin Naples as a forerunner of the luxury of the fifteenth-century Burgundian court; Lorenz Enderlein, too, has called Robert's Naples a significant example of the fourteenth century's general increase in royal tomb sculpture, accompanying a similar increase in the preaching of princely memorial sermons.²⁰⁰ In the latter area, Robert's Naples was certainly extraordinarily prolific. As David d'Avray has observed, the Angevins of Naples produced a "disproportionately large" number of such sermons—more, indeed, than for any other royal house in or before its time.²⁰¹ Several factors may have combined to produce this anomaly, including a regional Apulian tradition of funeral sermons and a Dominican proclivity for such preaching.²⁰² But the influence of the Angevin house itself in promoting this tradition cannot be overlooked. While there is record of one royal memorial sermon preached under Staufen rule in the later

¹⁹⁹ Anderson, "'Dominus Ludovicus,'" *passim*.

²⁰⁰ Valentiner, *Tino da Camaino*, 121; Enderlein, *Die Grablagen*, 54.

²⁰¹ D'Avray, *Death and the Prince*, 41, 89.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 40–41; Jean-Paul Boyer, similarly, mentions a Greek tradition of funeral preaching in southern Italy: see "Prédication et État napolitain dans la première moitié du XIV^e siècle," in *L'État angevin. Pouvoir, culture, et société entre XIII^e et XIV^e siècle* (Rome, 1998), 128.

thirteenth century,²⁰³ the number begins to rise with the advent of Angevin dominion, and not always in connection with Dominican or Apulian preachers. During Charles I's reign, it was a French cleric who preached two such sermons, for Charles' first wife and for his daughter Blanche.²⁰⁴ Two more Angevin memorial sermons date from the reign of Charles II, again by a preacher neither Dominican nor Apulian.²⁰⁵ For Robert's reign, the number climbs dramatically. Some twenty sermons were preached in honor of the king's dead relatives: seven for Charles II, four each for Robert's brothers Philip of Taranto and John of Durazzo, two for Robert's son Charles of Calabria, one each for Robert's sister Beatrice, his nephew Charles of Achaia, and his aunt Elizabeth of Hungary, as well as a twenty-first sermon preached at Robert's own obsequies.²⁰⁶

Secondly, the notable promotion of *beata stirps* during Robert's reign was soon echoed at other royal courts of Europe. If the Angevins were "the first to make the notion of dynastic saintliness the cornerstone of the sacral legitimation of their new dynasty," they were only a nose ahead of their French and Hungarian relatives. These three royal dynasties, indeed, seem to have imitated and been inspired by each other's example to become a sort of triumvirate of dynastic self-promotion. In France, the notion of a French-Angevin *beata stirps* continued in the canonization proceedings for Charles of Blois in the 1370s, which stressed both his kinship to the royal house of France, "many of whose members are venerated as saints," and his great devotion to Louis of Anjou.²⁰⁷ The Hungarian dynasty followed Neapolitan tradition in inaugurating a custom of princely funeral

²⁰³ For record of the Staufen memorial sermon, which alludes to an Apulian tradition, see d'Avray, *Death and the Prince*, 41.

²⁰⁴ Beatrice of Provence, first queen of Charles I, died in 1267, Blanche before 10 January 1270: on Eudes' sermons for them see Boyer, "Prédication et État," 129.

²⁰⁵ The preacher was James of Viterbo, an Augustinian friar and archbishop of Naples from 1303 to 1307. He preached on the death of Charles II's sister Isabelle and again for that of Charles II's son Raymond Berengar. See d'Avray, *Death and the Prince*, 48–49.

²⁰⁶ Giovanni Regina's eleven Angevin memorial sermons are found in Naples, Bibl. Naz., MS VIII AA 11; Federico Franconi's seven memorial sermons are in Munich, Clm 2981; Remigio de' Girolami's two Angevin memorial sermons are in Florence, Bibl. Naz., MS Conv. Soppr. G 4 936. All these are unique manuscript copies. The twentieth sermon—Bertrand de Turre's sermon for Charles of Calabria, preached at Avignon in 1328—is discussed and in large part transcribed in d'Avray, *Death and the Prince*, 152–156, 191–192.

²⁰⁷ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 182.

orations.²⁰⁸ They also employed the workshop of Tino da Camaino, sculptor of many Angevin royal tombs, to build a similar one for the blessed princess Margaret of Hungary in the later 1330s.²⁰⁹ Devotional books highlighting dynastic saints were produced both in Robert's circle and in that of his nephew, King Carobert of Hungary, in the same decades.²¹⁰ Moreover, these and other forms of dynastic promotion, and specifically promotion as sacred, spread throughout central Europe among the Piast, Premyslid, and Bohemian Luxemburg dynasties in the later fourteenth century.²¹¹

In the end, the significance of Robert's pious activity lies not in its heretical stamp—for heretical it was not—but in the adaptive creativity of the crown's efforts to achieve that classic aim of all ruling houses, legitimacy. King and court dealt with the delicate issue of Robert's vassalage to the Church both by casting it as sacral, and by positing an equal and separate source of sacrality in Angevin blood. They promoted a variety of saints' cults, with differing degrees of success, to inspire subjects' devotion to realm and ruler. They promoted as well the Angevin house itself, depicted visually in attitudes of worship and as specially beloved by Christ and the Church, depicted in sermons as bearing a special love for its people that deserved a reciprocal love from them. Perhaps the failure of some initiatives spurred the court to redouble its efforts; certainly the challenges to Robert's royal status stimulated the proliferation of pious publicity, for his "abject" vassalage to the Church and the depositions pronounced by two emperors, as well as the constant threat posed by Aragonese Sicily, rendered yet more fragile the legitimacy of a "usurper" dynasty only recently installed in the kingdom. In the relation between political pressures and royal publicity, and in the court's experimentation with different publicistic options, can be glimpsed a royal and dynastic image in the process of construction. The court's efforts in this direction did not pass unnoticed: indeed, they contributed to the florescence of similar initiatives in related

²⁰⁸ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 345–6.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 335.

²¹⁰ On the Hungarian legendary, see Gabor Klaniczay, T. Sajó, and B. Zsolt Szakács, "*Vinum vetus in utres novos*. Conclusioni sull'edizione CD del Leggendario ungherese angioino," in *L'Etat angevin. Pouvoir, culture, et société entre XIII^e et XIV^e siècle* (Rome, 1998), 301–316; on the parallels with the Neapolitan prayer-book, see Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 355–6.

²¹¹ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 342–66.

European dynasties, and illuminate those patterns of mutual influence that helped spread ideas from one region to another. Nor did they go unnoticed among Robert's subjects and allies, where some strategies succeeded in inspiring allegiance or, in the case of the papacy, preserving a concord tested by Robert's sometime diffidence. And if, as some evidence suggests, the less elite strata of southern Italy were least susceptible to those strategies' charms, Robert was prepared to offer them another royal virtue, and one perhaps more meaningful to them: justice.

CHAPTER FOUR

JUSTICE

For political theorists from Aristotle to Aquinas, justice was the cornerstone of good government. Without it, stated Augustine, states were no more than brigandage on a grand scale; according to Saint Thomas, to govern by the rules of law and justice was the prince's first and principal duty. Aristotle called the administration of justice the very order of the political community, and equated it with the common good.¹ This common good, and hence the ultimate aim of justice, was peace. As Frederick II wrote in his *Liber Augustalis*, "*peace and justice embrace each other like two sisters*" (cf. Ps. 84:11); thus he commanded that his kingdom observe "that respect for peace which cannot exist apart from justice, and apart from which justice cannot exist."² These few authorities, to which many more could be added, suggest the broad parameters of medieval conceptions of justice. Walter Ullmann has defined it as "the pure idea of right conduct," an idea expressed through but not confined to codified laws. "*Justitia* is unshaped *ius*: it stands in the antechamber of *ius*."³ Thus justice certainly included the creation of a fair and efficient legal system capable of responding to the grievances of subjects, but it involved much more as well. A just governor maintained public order—not only prosecuting crime when it occurred, but preventing its occurrence in the first place. In addition to curbing and prosecuting criminality among subjects, he ensured that his own government was not "criminal": that its taxation was not inequitable or oppressive, and that its officials were not corrupt. In short, as the guarantor of the common good, justice was not only legal but administrative, economic, and moral, and it was this global conception that made justice so central to medieval notions of good government.

¹ Bernard Guenée, *L'Occident aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles: Les États*, 5th ed. (Paris, 1993), 103–105.

² James Powell, trans., *The Liber Augustalis or Constitutions of Melfi* (Syracuse, 1971), 4, 14.

³ Walter Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages* (London, 1955), 273. I thank David Abulafia for signalling to me Ullmann's memorable phrase.

Early Angevin government—that is, the internal policies of Charles I, Charles II, and Robert—is framed within a larger question about the fate of southern Italy: how did a state that ranked in the vanguard of medieval monarchies under the Normans and Staufens eventually fall so low in political significance and economic vitality? An older historiographical tradition has perceived a downturn immediately after the reign of Frederick II, with the advent of Angevin rule. Charles I, constrained to grant lands and privileges to the Church and to the Franco-Provençal knights who had helped him conquer the kingdom, is characterized as “feudalizing” the realm to the detriment of crown power and wealth, and with imposing an oppressive *mala signoria* that sparked the disastrous Sicilian revolt of 1282.⁴ That revolt further exacerbated the Angevins’ problems, for not only did the dynasty lose an island rich in grain and royal lands, but in order to secure the loyalty of remaining mainland barons it conceded yet further liberties and privileges to them.⁵ Finally, the Angevins’ reliance on northern-Italian commerce and Florentine financing have been seen as contributing factors in southern Italy’s declining commercial independence and domestic economy.⁶ Under Robert these destructive tendencies are generally believed to have intensified, making his reign a bridge to that political and economic unravelling that characterized the following hundred years. He relied yet more heavily on Florentine bankers and allowed them to dominate the kingdom’s economic life at the expense of native enterprise; he conceded yet more privileges to the nobility, notably in giving them that jurisdiction over high justice that was once the exclusive province of the crown.⁷

⁴ Benedetto Croce, *History of the Kingdom of Naples*, trans. F. Frenaye (Chicago, 1970), 59. For a less dire assessment of Charles’ feudalization and Frenchification of the realm, see Giuseppe Galasso, *Il Regno di Napoli. Il Mezzogiorno angioino e aragonese* (Turin, 1992), 43–45.

⁵ Alan Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples Under Alfonso the Magnanimous. The Making of a Modern State* (Oxford, 1976), 12–13.

⁶ Such was noted already in the reign of Charles I: see Jean Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou. Power, Kingship and State-Making in Thirteenth-Century Europe* (London, 1998), 159.

⁷ On the role of Florentine finance in the kingdom see Romolo Caggese, *Roberto d’Angiò e i suoi tempi*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1922–1930), 1: 539–42, and David Abulafia, “Southern Italy and the Florentine Economy, 1265–1370,” *Economic History Review* 33, 3 (1981), 377–388. On Robert’s surrender of crown prerogatives to the nobility see the works cited below at n. 44.

Robert's governance thus serves an instance of early Angevin policy in its relation to that of earlier and later dynasties; it can be viewed as well in relation to the particular issues of its own time, the notorious calamities of the fourteenth century that struck Europe as a whole. They included protracted war, a feature of Angevin rule since the Sicilian Vespers of 1282 and one exacerbated in Robert's time by two imperial offensives; periodic food shortages, of which the worst continued from 1328 to 1330; and the fiscal pressures resulting from war, agricultural shortfalls, and the gradual decline from the later 1320s of the great Florentine banking houses.⁸ Hostilities between the landed nobility, urban patriciate, and *popolo*, characteristic of northern Italy in this period, were also frequent in the south, as was apparently widespread brigandage.⁹ Even that great high-medieval accomplishment, the establishment of superior central authority, engendered new difficulties for rulers, as subjects familiar with the system manipulated it to their own ends. This phenomenon was one of the great handicaps of late-medieval governments throughout Europe, and is well attested for Angevin territories. Nobles might willingly serve the central government, but also used their posts as a means to legitimate the armed followings with which they dominated a region; subjects appealed increasingly to royal law as an alternative to vendetta, but they knew as well how to circumvent or exploit it to their own interest.¹⁰

⁸ On food shortages during Robert's reign and their larger social ramifications see Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 2: 509–515, and Raffaele Colapietra, "Abruzzo citeriore, Abruzzo ulteriore, Molise," in *Storia del Mezzogiorno*, vol. 6 (Rome, 1986), 32. On the decline of Florentine banks from 1326, Georges Yver, *Le commerce et les marchands dans l'Italie méridionale au XIII^e et au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1903; repr. New York, 1968), 317–21.

⁹ Giovanni Vitolo, "Il regno angioino," in *Storia del Mezzogiorno*, vol. 4 (Rome, 1986), 69–70.

¹⁰ Joseph R. Strayer, *The Medieval Origins of the Modern State* (Princeton, 1970), 62–63. For an example of the landed nobility adding the authority of government office to their fiefs, see Sylvie Pollastri, "Une famille de l'aristocratie napolitaine sous les souverains angevins: les Sanseverino (1270–1420)," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Moyen Âge* 103 (1991), 248. Daniel Lord Smail offers several vivid examples of Angevin subjects' manipulation of the Angevin legal system in Marseille. Imposed fines could be avoided, for instance, by claiming clerical status, by bestowing all goods on a relative in order to claim insolvency, or simply by "disappearing" for a few months until the state gave up the search. See his "La justice comtale à Marseille (mi-XIII^e–fin XIV^e siècle)," in *La justice temporelle dans les territoires angevins aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles. Théories et pratiques. Colloque internationale, Aix-en-Provence, 21–23 février 2002*, forthcoming.

As the foregoing comments indicate, the subject of Robert's internal governance involves a variety of interrelated questions, from royal legislation and fiscal measures to administrative structure, reform, and chosen personnel, all seen in light of broader relations with different sectors of the populace and of potentially wide regional variation. These topics have attracted considerable attention in recent years, but the scholars most engaged with them are the first to acknowledge how much remains to be understood in detail, especially for the years of Robert's rule.¹¹ As research continues, and the reconstruction of the dynasty's government registers reaches the years of Robert's reign, our picture of his internal governance will be much enriched, but even at present the various tesserae offered by documentary references, prewar studies, and more recent literature suggest a quite different picture of the policies and circumstances of the Angevin state in a pivotal half-century. For one, government policy reveals considerable continuity with both Norman-Staufen precedent and the later "modern" policies of the Aragonese dynasty of Naples, suggesting that early Angevin rule was not the rupture it is sometimes considered. Secondly, it is possible to detect in Robert's rule a general policy of balance and negotiation that merits comparison with other late-medieval states as a characteristic response to the challenges of this troubled age.

¹¹ Prewar studies concentrated on the reign of Charles I, and postwar studies have continued that emphasis for documentary reasons, since the reconstruction of the Angevin archives has presently reached only the middle of Charles II's reign. For a recent overview of Angevin historiography see Serena Morelli, "La storiografia sul Regno angioino di Napoli: Una nuova stagione di studi," *Studi Storici* 4 (2000), 1023–1045. Recent work on such questions as Angevin personnel, crown relations with the urban patriciate, and the regional history of the realm acknowledge the still partial state of our knowledge: see, for instance, Serena Morelli, "Giustizieri e distretti fiscali nel Regno di Sicilia durante la prima età angioina," in *Medioevo Mezzogiorno Mediterraneo. Studi in onore di Mario del Treppo*, ed. G. Rossetti and G. Vitolo, 2 vols. (Naples, 2002), 1: 305; Giuliana Vitale, "Uffici, militia e nobiltà. Processi di formazione della nobiltà di Seggio a Napoli: Il casato dei Brancaccio fra XIV e XV secoli," *Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica* (1993, pt. 2), 34; and the chapters on regional history in the series *Storia del Mezzogiorno*, vols. 5 and 6. Fiscal policy remains among the least documented aspects of Robert's internal governance, and even before the destruction of the government archives scholars lamented the fragmentary state of the evidence: see, for example, Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 1: 624; Ruggiero Moscati, "Ricerche e documenti sulla feudalità napoletana nel periodo angioino," *ASPN* 22 (1936), 13.

Finally, this emerging portrait can be enriched through attention to the notable but much overlooked evidence of contemporary commentary on Robert's justice, by the king himself and by other critical or admiring observers. Robert preached frequently on the related themes of justice, mercy, and peace, sometimes in a theoretical framework, sometimes for specific judicial and peacemaking occasions. These sermons illuminate both Robert's conception of ideal rule and the particular modes of interaction between crown, royal officials, and subjects that manifested that conception. They constituted in themselves a notable effort on Robert's part to portray himself as a ruler concerned with equity and the well-being of his subjects. The success of Robert's policies and publicity is a matter admitting of debate, but it appears that Robert's rule was rather well received by subjects. There were no major rebellions during his long reign, and representatives of various social strata evinced considerable willingness to work with and within the royal system. Given the resistance to royal power that characterized the realm after 1343, that willingness should not be underestimated. Further, some commentators within and beyond the royal court praised the king's justice and the peace and prosperity of his reign. Yet there is evidence of a tendency to associate Angevin justice more with Robert's son and vicar, Charles of Calabria, than with the king himself, and to attribute to Robert a more ambivalent role. What one senses in the mixed views of Robert's justice, therefore, is less hostility to the regime than discomfort with the particular style of Robert's rule as he (and his subjects) adjusted to the realities of a different age.

Structure of the Royal Administration

The backbone of Angevin internal governance was its administrative hierarchy, already well developed by the dynasty's predecessors in both Provence and the Regno and largely maintained by the Angevins. A brief introduction to its branches and offices can serve as an initial point of orientation for this discussion. At the top of the hierarchy, judicially speaking, was the royal tribunal. In the early years of Angevin rule it was sometimes called the *magna curia regis*, or great court of the king. As its name suggests, this body was virtually indistinguishable from that group of high noble officers who

served the king as admiral, constable, chamberlain and so on; such was traditional for medieval courts. Increasingly, however, judicial duties were remanded to a distinct bureau comprised of some half-dozen judges, appellate judges, and lawyers of the fisc, with their attendant notaries. All served under the presidency of a master justiciar, whence the tribunal became known as the “court of the master justiciar.”¹² As a capitulary of Charles I for the master justiciar specified, this tribunal was charged with judging “crimes public and private, of greater and lesser severity, in all civil and criminal matters whatsoever.”¹³ It was the final court of appeal for all cases tried in lower courts, and directly handled cases relating to the realm’s nobility and to royal officials. Under Charles II was established a second high court, the Vicarial Tribunal (*curia vicarie*). Overseen by the realm’s vicar general—that is, the heir to the throne—its purpose, according to Charles II, was to hear “all instances of violence, injury, destruction and crime about which Our Majesty or Robert, Duke of Calabria, our firstborn and vicar general, may be approached.”¹⁴ As this description suggests, the Vicarial Tribunal’s distinction from that of the master justiciar was somewhat vague, but its creation was intended to ease the backlog of cases at the original high court and hence render justice more quickly and efficiently, circumventing what Robert later called “juridical subtleties and legal procedures that are long, circuitous, and tortuous.”¹⁵

It was in the provinces, however, that subjects generally encountered royal justice in all its various aspects. In the eleven administrative provinces of the Regno and the twenty *bailliages* or vigueries of Provence, the ranking royal officers were the provincial justiciars (in Provence, the *baillis* or *viguers*), omnicompetent officials appointed for twelve-month terms and charged with the fiscal, judicial, and military oversight of their districts.¹⁶ They tried criminal cases in the

¹² Léon Cadier, *Essai sur l'administration du Royaume de Sicile sous Charles Ier et Charles II d'Anjou* (Paris, 1891), 28.

¹³ The capitulary is edited in idem, *I grandi uffizii del regno di Sicilia durante il regno di Carlo I d'Angiò* (Naples, 1872), 81–94, where this passage appears on 82.

¹⁴ Matteo Camera, *Annali delle Due Sicilie*, 2 vols. (Naples, 1860), 1: 420n, citing the royal document listing its sphere of competence “de omnibus violentiis, iniuriis, gravaminibus atque criminibus, de quibus Maiestas nostra vel Robertus primogenitus noster dux Calabrie atque vicarius noster generalis posset adiri.”

¹⁵ “Subtilitates iuris ac iudiciorum longos, circuitus et anfractus”: the royal document of 1310 is cited in Yver, *Le commerce et les marchands*, 40.

¹⁶ For a general outline of the provincial officials and their duties see, for south-

first instance or in appeal from local judges, and were superior as well to their district's seigneurial courts. They were thus the intermediary, with the added mediation in Provence of the *juge mage*, between local courts and crown's final court of appeal. In matters of policing they were aided by military captains who occupied the realm's castles and fortresses and who could be enlisted by the provincial justiciar to help quell violence or pursue malefactors. Among provincial fiscal officers the most important were the *secreti*, in charge of the collection of direct and indirect taxes, but there were several lesser offices as well: the master procurators and portulans in charge of port taxes, the *magistri salis* for the salt tax, the *siclarii* who oversaw coinage and the *massarii* in charge of the royal demesne.

The existence of a corps of specialized officers in the central court and in the provinces was a promising start for effective internal governance, but its functioning depended enormously on the personnel who occupied those offices and on the larger social context in which they acted. The relations obtaining between crown and nobility, between crown and municipalities, and between nobility and towns themselves formed the basic social terrain in which government officers acted. Before returning in more depth to the royal administration, therefore, it is well to explore the character of these constituent social groups and of the crown's relations with them.

The Crown and the Nobility

The most prominent issue in analyses of Angevin internal governance is the state's relations with the landed nobility, a notoriously rebellious class to whom the new dynasty is supposed to have surrendered much of the royal authority laboriously constructed by its Norman and Staufen predecessors. As Serena Morelli has aptly summarized, "the [Angevin] monarchy has been held responsible for leaving ample space to a 'rebellious,' volatile and restless aristocracy that reemerged in the late thirteenth and fourteenth century, after

ern Italy, Cadier, *Essai*, 20–26, and Morelli, "I giustizieri nel regno di Napoli al tempo di Carlo I d'Angiò. Primi risultati di un'indagine prosopografica," in *L'État angevin. Pouvoir, culture et société entre XIII^e et XIV^e siècle* (Rome, 1998), 491–494. For Provence, the judicial system is charted by Gérard Giordanengo, "*Arma legesque colo*. L'état et le droit en Provence (1246–1343)," in *L'État angevin*, 50.

the Staufen period, to irreversibly weaken royal authority.”¹⁷ It is certainly true that the first Angevin, Charles I, enfeoffed a large number of transalpine lords within the kingdom, but at the expense of enemy families rather than through massive alienations from the royal demesne.¹⁸ Further, he and his successors cultivated relations between native and transalpine families by arranging marriages between them—a strategy quickly embraced by noble families themselves as they sought to consolidate their position in a new political order, and one that quelled potential rivalries while consolidating ties among Angevin loyalists of whatever origin.¹⁹

To those great nobles who displayed such loyalty, the Angevins were certainly beneficent. The Sanseverino, who became the most powerful family in the kingdom under the early Angevins, are a case in point. In the first, turbulent years of Charles I’s rule, Ruggiero di Sanseverino did a great service to the Angevin cause in leading their party in Basilicata, a region much favored by and loyal to the previous Staufen rulers.²⁰ In recompense, Charles I restored to Ruggiero his lands in Sanseverino and in the county of Marsico (Basilicata), and strengthened his position by appointing him military captain in both Basilicata and neighboring Principato.²¹ In 1289 Ruggiero was given lordship of Salerno as well—a region formerly controlled by the heir to the throne—and when the town of Salerno resisted his signory the crown defended his rights, imprisoning and then exiling the rebel members of Salerno’s urban patriciate.²² To ensure the family’s loyalty, Charles I ordered the marriage of Tommaso di Sanseverino to one Marguerite de Vaudemont, daughter of a French lord newly enfeoffed with the county of Ariano—a marriage beneficial to the Sanseverino as well as the crown, in building ties with another

¹⁷ Morelli, “La storiografia,” 1028.

¹⁸ Sylvie Pollastri, “Les Burson d’Anjou, barons de Nocera puis comtes de Satriano (1268–1400),” in *La noblesse dans les territoires angevins à la fin du moyen âge* (Rome, 2000), 91–93.

¹⁹ Pollastri, “Une famille,” 241, on Charles I’s control of noble marriages; Vitale, “Uffici, militia,” 32, on Robert’s similarly “energetic and detailed set of norms for regulating when and how noble marriages could take place” in 1332.

²⁰ Raffaele Giura-Longo, “Basilicata,” in *Storia del Mezzogiorno*, vol. 6 (Rome, 1986), 335–36.

²¹ Aurelio Musi, “Principato Citra,” in *Storia del Mezzogiorno*, vol. 5 (Rome, 1986), 244.

²² *Ibid.*, 248–9.

noble family and its territories.²³ Through such marriages as well as through royal grant, various members of the family held six counties in Basilicata and Calabria by Robert's time, and continued to fill government offices as military captains or justiciars in various provinces of the realm.²⁴ Further, in the first years of Robert's reign Tommaso di Sanseverino, count of Marsico, was granted the privilege of *merum et mixtum imperium*, the right to exercise high (i.e. criminal) justice in his territories.²⁵ The Sanseverino were unusual in the extent of privileges they enjoyed, but other native families were favored as well: the Ruffo, for instance, counts of Catanzaro and Montalto, whose lesser barony of Sinopoli was promoted to the status of county in 1335, and the d'Aquino family, lords of three dispersed counties in Robert's time.²⁶

Great Provençal families were also favored by the crown, both in their native region and in the kingdom. The Sabran, barons of Ansouis in Provence, received two nearby counties in the kingdom (Ariano and Apice) and served Robert in various ways. Ermengaud was master justiciar of the kingdom in the first years of Robert's reign; his son Guillaume was a captain general in Calabria and in l'Aquila, as well as a bailli in Provence, while Elzear de Sabran served as Robert's ambassador and presided over the king's council in Robert's absence.²⁷ The de Baux family, as powerful in Provence as the Sanseverino were in the Regno, received no less than three counties and a duchy in the kingdom. Indeed, because they held

²³ Pollastri, "Une famille," 241.

²⁴ Ibid., 243–44, 249; see as well the list of counties and their holders in idem, "Les Burson," 104–112. Various members of the Sanseverino family were counts of Potenza, Tricarico, Marsico, and Chiaromonte, all in Basilicata; of Altomonte in Val di Crati; and (through marriage to the d'Aquino) of Belcastro in neighboring Calabria.

²⁵ Musi, "Principato citra," 245, dates the concession to 1311; Moscati, "Ricerche e documenti," 237, dates it to 1313.

²⁶ On the Ruffo see Pollastri, "Une famille," 244. The county of Aquino, which belonged to the eponymous family under the Normans, was dismantled in the Staufien period, but some of its constituent signories remained in the d'Aquinos' hands. Under Robert members of the family were counts of Loreto in Abruzzo, of Ascoli Satriano in Capitanata, and of Belcastro in Calabria until this last county passed by marriage to the Sanseverino. See the table of counties in Pollastri, "Les Burson," 104–112.

²⁷ Samantha Kelly, "Noblesse de robe et noblesse d'esprit dans la cour de Robert de Naples. La question d'italianisation," in *La noblesse dans les territoires angevins* (Rome, 2000), 359–360.

territories in both Provence and the Regno—sometimes through different branches, sometimes in the same person—they served as an important link between these two principal Angevin territories, a link reinforced by the various offices they filled for the crown. Raymond de Baux, lord of the strategic county of Avellino in the kingdom and baron of Aubagne in Provence, was named seneschal of Provence by Robert in 1315; Amiel, from the d’Orange branch of the family in Provence, was Robert’s counsellor and familiar and served as his military captain and justiciar in Calabria. The most prominent member of the family, however, was Bertrand, from the de Berre branch of the family. Count of Montescaglioso (in the province of Basilicata) and duke of Andria (Terra di Bari), he was married to Robert’s sister Beatrice in 1309, and served his brother-in-law as a military captain in the Regno, in Tuscany, in Piedmont, and in Lombardy, and as an ambassador to the papal court.²⁸ Not surprisingly, the crown consistently upheld the family’s cause in the numerous cases it pled before the Angevin court, as it upheld the Sanseverino’s rights in Salerno over patrician complaint.²⁹ Together with the Brienne—a French family with eastern-Mediterranean holdings, counts of Conversano and Lecce in the kingdom and married, like the de Baux, into the royal family³⁰—these represent perhaps the six most powerful noble houses in Angevin territories. The crown’s relations with them could certainly not be called royal monopolization of power, but neither was it massive surrender of authority. As Sylvie Pollastri has observed with regard to the Sanseverino, the dynamic evident in royal-noble relations was one of reciprocal benefit. The crown gained the support and service of powerful noble families whose loyalty was crucial to Angevin power, and whose politically relevant activities (such as marriage) were carefully monitored; the aristocracy gained lands, rights, and the authority of public office, as well as access to the royal court whence such privileges flowed.³¹

²⁸ L. Barthélemy, *Inventaire chronologique et analytique des chartes de la maison de Baux* (Marseille, 1882), and the summary of offices and duties held by members of the family in Kelly, “Noblesse de robe,” 358–359.

²⁹ Florian Mazel, “La noblesse face à la justice souveraine (1245–1320). L’âge du pragmatisme,” in *La justice temporelle*, forthcoming.

³⁰ Pollastri, “Les Burson,” 104–112; Maria Antonietta Visceglia, *Territorio, feudo, e potere locale. Terra d’Otranto tra medioevo ed età moderna* (Naples, 1988), 172. On Walter of Brienne’s activity in Florence see Chapter Five below, at nn. 123–126. He was married to Robert’s niece Beatrice, daughter of Philip of Taranto.

³¹ Pollastri, “Une famille,” 246–248.

These great noble families were, furthermore, both few and of relatively restricted territorial dominance. The creation of vast feudal holdings was a phenomenon that postdated Robert's reign, when the strict laws governing noble marriage and succession were no longer enforced and the aristocracy's desire to consolidate dynastic holdings of their own had freer reign.³² In Terra d'Otranto, the "heel" of the Italian boot, the high nobility in Robert's time was limited to the king's brother, Philip of Taranto, and to Walter of Brienne count of Lecce, related to the royal family by marriage. The rest of the province was characterized by minor nobility without extensive tracts of land; only at the end of the fourteenth century did the Orsini family manage to create an extensive feudal domain in the region.³³ Even the Sanseverino, greatest titled landholders of Robert's age, were still divided among five separate branches; they, too, consolidated their familial holdings into a more vast and coherent dynastic domain only later in the century.³⁴ During Robert's reign there were some thirty counties in the kingdom, and most families held but one.³⁵ These families betray diverse origins. Some were native

³² Giuliana Vitale, "La nobiltà napoletana della prima età angioina," in *L'État angevin. Pouvoir, culture, et société entre XIII^e et XIV^e siècle* (Rome, 1998), 546.

³³ Visceglia, *Territorio, feudo, e potere locale*, 173.

³⁴ Pollastri, "Une famille," 249.

³⁵ Pollastri, "Les Burson," provides an indispensable chart of the counties of the kingdom and their known holders from the Normans to the reign of Joanna II, in which 29 counties are listed with known or probable lords for Robert's reign. The royal documents summarized by Camillo Minieri-Riccio in "Genealogia di Carlo II d'Angiò," *ASP* N 7 (1882) and 8 (1883), allow some further precision. For instance, though the county of Lecce is listed by Pollastri as passing to the Enghien under Robert, it remained in the hands of the Brienne through his reign; the Pipino are listed as counts of Vico del Gargano, but are described in government documents of Robert's reign as counts of Minervino as well (raising the number of counties to 30); the county of Caserta passed to Diego de la Rath early in Robert's reign, and not under Robert's successor; the Ruffo, too, listed as counts of Montalto under Joanna I, were already so under Robert (raising the number of counties to 31). A few counties not included in Pollastri's list receive brief mention in Minieri-Riccio's summary; because they went to royal servants and are not consistently mentioned, they may have been ephemeral. For instance, the county of Montoro (Montorio?) is mentioned as belonging to Diego de la Rath in 1313, but after Diego became count of Caserta the following year this first county is never again mentioned; according to Pollastri's chart Montorio became a county only in the fifteenth century. Arnaldo, nephew of Pope John XXII, is described as count of Traiano in 1322, but the county is not mentioned again and does not appear in Pollastri's chart. In the first year of Robert's reign, Bartolomeo Siginulfo is described as count of 'Telese'—this may be Terlizzi, a county soon given to the Dinisiaco family, or an ephemeral title that disappeared with Bartolomeo's fall from grace in 1310.

aristocracy, like the Celano who retained their eponymous county in Abruzzo; others had been nobles in their transalpine homelands, like the Joinville, whose barony of Sant'Angelo dei Lombardi was raised to the status of county by Robert. A number were simple knights raised up through their loyal service to the crown. Riccardo Burson, son of a French knight who participated in Charles I's conquest of the kingdom and served him as castellan and provincial official thereafter, was raised to the rank of count by Robert in 1335.³⁶ The da Capua, too, owed their advancement to royal service: Roberto, grandson of that Bartolomeo da Capua who headed Robert's administration as protonotary and logothete, was ennobled as count of Altavilla, southeast of Salerno, in 1337.³⁷ Bartolomeo Siginulfo, grand chamberlain of the realm, acquired the county of Caserta in 1305; after Bartolomeo's fall from grace the county went to Diego de la Rath, a Catalan who also took Bartolomeo's position as grand chamberlain and who served Robert often as a military captain in northern Italy.³⁸

Overall, the landscape of the feudal aristocracy in the kingdom reveals a balance between a few great landowners whose ties to the crown were carefully cultivated, and a larger number of families of diverse origin, many dependent on royal service for their lands and fortunes. Robert cultivated the allegiance of both groups through sermons honoring their elevation to or confirmation in comital status, and celebrated as well, through sermons, their service to the crown.³⁹ This attentive flattery seems to have had the desired effect: when summing up Robert's reign, the urban patrician Bartolomeo Caracciolo noted that Robert had "ennobled the realm by creating the following counts and officials," among whom he listed new and old nobility, native and transalpine.⁴⁰ At the same time, Robert sur-

Excluding these more questionable fiefs, the sources identify thirteen comital families in possession of one county each.

³⁶ Pollastri, "Une famille," 95–99.

³⁷ Ibid., 101.

³⁸ Diego was grand chamberlain by 1313 and count of Caserta by 1314, when he was sent to Ferrara as royal vicar: see Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASP* 7 (1882), 235–36.

³⁹ These sermons are described in below, Chapter Six, at nn. 29–32.

⁴⁰ "Nobilitao lo Rame facendo gli infrascritti conti e officiali, che fuoro . . ." The author includes in his list native nobles like the Ruffo and Sanseverino, transalpine lords like the Joinville, and new men ennobled by the king such as Diego de la Rath. *Cronaca di Partenope*, ed. Antonio Altamura (Naples, 1974), 132–33.

veyed their activity closely. A quarter of Robert's legislation was occupied with clarifying noble military obligations, the rules regarding succession to a fief and provisioning of dowries, and the conditions under which they could demand an aid from tenants.⁴¹ It is doubtless no accident, for instance, that the small but strategic province of Principato Ultra was dominated by three transalpine families of demonstrated loyalty. This mountainous area, which connected Naples with the grain fields and ports of the Adriatic coast, had been dominated by the papal enclave of Benevento; by establishing the Sabran, Joinville, and de Baux families in close proximity just south of Benevento, the crown placed the region and its new east-west route in trustworthy hands.⁴²

However equilibrated between old and new families, large and lesser landholders, this feudal aristocracy as a whole is generally characterized as obtaining ever greater financial and jurisdictional freedom from the crown. The famous Constitutions of San Martino, promulgated by the future Charles II as his father's vicar in 1283, represented a first step in this process: needing to ensure mainland nobles' allegiance after the rebellion of Sicily, Charles eased both their military and financial contributions to the state. The length of their owed military service was shortened, while the *adoa*—monetary payment that substituted for service, and that nobles here as elsewhere in Europe increasingly pressured the crown to accept—was decreased by 16%. Further, whereas previously nobles could collect a third of this *adoa* from their rear-vassals, now they could collect half, and could demand "moderate aids" from rear-vassals without specific royal consent.⁴³ Toward the end of his reign, Charles II extended to certain members of the aristocracy a privilege that had been exclusively royal under the Staufen: *merum et mixtum imperium*,

⁴¹ Twenty-seven of the 106 legislative acts recorded by Romualdo Trifone, *La legislazione angioina* (Naples, 1921) for Robert's reign concerned these and other feudal matters. A royal edict of 1332 has been singled out in particular as an "energetic and detailed set of norms for regulating when and how noble marriages could take place": see Vitale, "Uffici, militia," 32.

⁴² The new province of Principato Ultra, shaved off of Principato in the last years of the thirteenth century, was created precisely to counterbalance the influence of Benevento, south of which a new road from Naples to Apulia was created. See Musi, "Principato Citra," 243. In this small province, the Sabran held the counties of Apice and Ariano, the Baux held Avellino, and the Joinville the newly comital fief of Sant'Angelo dei Lombardi: see the list of Pollastri, "Les Burson," 104–112.

⁴³ Vitolo, "Il regno angioino," 27.

or the rights of high justice within their fiefs. Such concessions supposedly increased under Robert to the point of constituting a “qualitative leap” in the nobility’s seizure of freedoms and powers, and leading inexorably to the establishment of hereditary title, avoidance of military service, alienation of fiefs, and other signs of an uncontrolled and eventually uncontrollable nobility.⁴⁴

Noble reluctance to fulfil their owed military service was a widespread phenomenon in late-medieval Europe, and one of the characteristic challenges to fourteenth-century rule. In measured doses, however, the substitution of monetary payment could work in the interests of the crown: it tipped the balance of royal armies toward personnel both more professionalized and more dependent than great landed nobles on royal favor, and was a source of income to states perennially in need of it.⁴⁵ Though full records of Robert’s annual revenues from the *adua* were lacking even before the wholesale destruction of his government archives, a few figures give a sense of the general increase. In 1316 the *adua* brought in less than 6000 ounces; in 1341, the figure was over 8000. In overall annual revenues that might hover around 120,000 ounces, this increase was financially welcome, but hardly so large as to indicate widespread refusal of military service by the aristocracy. In the early fifteenth century, by comparison, the *adua* brought in over 20,000 ounces gold per year.⁴⁶ In short, by acceding, within limits, to the nobles’ desire to pay rather than serve, Robert responded to unavoidable pressure in a way that least damaged the state: adding much-needed income to

⁴⁴ Robert’s pivotal role in the surrender of central power to the aristocracy was asserted by the early-eighteenth-century historian Angelo di Costanzo, whose authority continues to be cited in modern studies, e.g. Ryder, *Kingdom of Naples*, 13, and Vitolo, “Il regno angioino,” 25. See also Musi, “Principato citra,” 245, synthesizing classic historical surveys in his assertion of the nobility’s “qualitative” leap in power under Robert.

⁴⁵ Moscati, “Ricerche e documenti,” 13, on fiscal benefits to the crown; Vitale, “Uffici, militia,” 36, on the advancement of less powerful men into high military positions, creating greater solidarity between this social stratum and the crown in counterpoise to the powerful feudal aristocracy.

⁴⁶ The income from the *adua* in 1316, 1341, and in the fifteenth century are cited by Moscati, “Ricerche e documenti,” 13–14 and appear to be the only figures available. The figure of 120,000 ounces annual revenue from all sources is proposed by Caggese and confirmed by Gennaro Maria Monti, though it is admittedly very provisional: income from the royal demesne appears to be pure guesswork, and information on income from indirect taxes is very partial. See the discussion by Monti, “Da Carlo I a Roberto d’Angiò,” *ASPN*, n.s., 19 (1933), 67–98.

royal revenues, but still maintaining a general practice of direct noble involvement in war that kept the aristocracy in contact with, and in service to, the crown.

Regarding the surrender to great nobles of royal *merum et mixtum imperium*, closer inspection reveals that it has been much exaggerated. Charles II certainly deviated from Staufen practice, which jealously guarded high justice as the exclusive prerogative of the crown, but to a most limited degree. He gave it to Bartolomeo Siginulfo, his grand chamberlain, for the year of 1305, and a second time in 1309 for an even briefer period. In the last year of his reign he gave high justice to Bertrand de Baux for life. Bertrand, however, was a member of the royal family thanks to his recent marriage to Beatrice of Anjou, and concession of high justice to members of the royal family was, as we shall discuss presently, a wholly different matter. As for Robert, the only known example of his concession of high justice to a nobleman was the one already mentioned, Tommaso di Sanseverino.⁴⁷ High justice was conceded frequently, and became heritable, under Joanna I, and though she made feeble efforts to reverse the process it only multiplied under her successors.⁴⁸ By the start of Alfonso of Aragon's rule in the mid-fifteenth century a great many nobles claimed such rights, which the new king confirmed or indeed extended.⁴⁹ It is worth noting that if the wide distribution of *merum et mixtum imperium* is a sign of reduced royal authority, it is one as characteristic of the Aragonese "modern statebuilders" as it is of the weak, late rulers of the Angevin-Durazzo house. It was not, however, a characteristic of Robert, whose capitulary "Ad fastigium" specifically confirmed Frederick II's prohibition against noble possession of high justice "unless it is had from us by special privilege," and under whom such privilege was extremely rare.⁵⁰

It was not rare, however, for members of the royal family, and it is these examples, often mentioned alongside those of nobles, which tend to inflate the picture of Angevin concession of high justice. Thus it is noted that Charles I gave *merum et mixtum imperium* to his

⁴⁷ Moscati, "Ricerche e documenti," 235–237; Vitolo, "Il regno angioino," 25. I have found no further examples of such concessions under either king.

⁴⁸ Moscati, "Ricerche e documenti," 238–240.

⁴⁹ Ryder, *Kingdom of Naples*, 50.

⁵⁰ Moscati, "Ricerche e documenti," 238, who notes that such concessions were a "very exceptional case" under Robert.

son and heir, the future Charles II, in his principate of Salerno, that Charles II did the same for his heir, Robert, and Robert in his turn for his son Charles of Calabria. Other members of the royal family held such rights over their fiefs as well. Robert's brother Philip was endowed with the principate of Taranto, and *merum et mixtum imperium* within it, by their father, and held the territory for much of Robert's reign. Charles II's queen Maria was given high justice in her fiefs in 1308, as was Robert's queen Sancia in 1312.⁵¹ This was no innovation. Frederick II himself, though opposed to alienating high justice from the crown, bestowed it on his son and heir, Manfred, in his assigned principate of Taranto. Furthermore, the privilege was both limited and subject to the higher authority of the king. As Charles II specified, royal relatives exercised high justice in their fiefs only over the familiars of their own entourage, and only when away from the royal court; Robert further specified the crown's reservation of right of appeal and of final sentence over ducal officials considered guilty.⁵² Such rights came with the appanages that were assigned, by the Angevins as by many dynasties, to "apportion powers among its members according to a systematic policy and precise strategy."⁵³ That strategy involved the installation of the dynasty in various regions to balance and survey the local nobility, and could be augmented beyond the traditional appanages when desirable. Thus in the county of Molise, crossroads of two regions where ambitious local lords sought to amass more territory for themselves, Robert conceded to his son Charles in 1314 several strategically placed towns through which the crown could better resist their designs and defend Molise's fertile (and vulnerable) plain.⁵⁴

In Provence the balance of power and juridical *status quo* were quite different. Many noble families had possessed high justice before the advent of the Angevins. Rather than retract such rights wholesale, the crown carefully monitored them. Inquests into noble versus royal rights were frequent under Robert as they had been under his predecessors: the bailliage of Castellane, recently analyzed by Laure Verdon, may be taken as a typical example.⁵⁵ Surveys of juris-

⁵¹ Ibid., 228–232.

⁵² Ibid., 226, 231–232.

⁵³ Visceglia, *Territorio*, 169.

⁵⁴ Colapietra, "Abruzzo citeriore," 32–33.

⁵⁵ Laure Verdon, "Les justices seigneuriales d'après les enquêtes comtales du règne de Charles II," in *La justice temporelle*, forthcoming.

dictional rights took place three times here during Robert's reign, in 1310, 1319–20, and 1332. The procedure involved questioning two to nine witnesses in each of some two dozen locations within the district: in addition to inquiring about any oppressive or illegal activity of the local lord that required redress, the officials asked who (local lord or king) possessed what jurisdiction in the locality. Compared to an inquest of 1278 in the same region, there was no notable alteration in the the rights of either party by Robert's time, suggesting that both nobility and crown were content to observe the established balance of authority. That balance was, anyway, tipped already in favor of the crown: in contrast to southern Italy, the classic portrait of noble-Angevin relations in Provence is not that of ever increasing noble power but of "a nobility in withdrawal, victim of the emerging modern state" of the Angevins.⁵⁶

That state apparatus, and the aristocracy's participation in it, is a significant aspect of crown-noble relations to be discussed below. For the moment we may close the survey of those relations with some comment on its highest level, that is, on the high court of the king where nobility were judged. Under the Staufen, the nobility enjoyed the right to be tried in a court of their peers under the presidency of the grand chamberlain, a privilege nominally preserved under the Angevins. Essentially this court of peers transformed into a professionalized bureau headed by the master justiciar and peopled by legal experts trained at the Neapolitan *studium*. Nobles could attend, and indeed royal documents of Robert's reign insisted that they be present for important cases, but they no longer constituted a true *curia parium*, and it was the more numerous and authoritative professional jurists who decided the cases.⁵⁷ This was one of several signs, as we will see, of the "ever more decidedly bureaucratic, and hence ever less vassalic-feudal, character of Angevin royal officials."⁵⁸

This high royal court heard a wide variety of cases, many of which involved the nobility in one way or another. Nobles could bring before the court their disputes with other noble families or members of their own family, as they appear often to have done. In a study

⁵⁶ A convenient historiographical summary of this portrait opens Mazel's "La noblesse provençale," art. cit.

⁵⁷ Moscati, "Ricerche e documenti," 256, noting three cases—of 1309–10, 1324, and 1335—in which the presence of at least some nobles was required for the proper hearing of a noble's case.

⁵⁸ Vitolo, "Il regno angioino," 57.

of three noble Provençal families, Florian Mazel has shown that the de Baux appealed to the king's court, or to a judge specially delegated by the king, almost five times as often as they resolved their dispute on their own. Clearly they made use of a court with which they enjoyed a special closeness and from which they could expect favor, a tendency that benefited them but aided the crown as well in its affirmation of superior authority. Even lesser noble families, however, resorted to the king's court in such disputes roughly as often as they handled the matter themselves.⁵⁹

In other instances, however, noble families did take matters into their own hands, pursuing vendettas with rival families, seizing towns or castles, sometimes attacking symbols of royal authority itself. Scattered evidence gives the impression that such cases were not uncommon, and increased toward the end of Robert's reign. They appear to have involved principally members of the lesser nobility who, in the rather fluid social world of the early Angevins, hoped to attain through seizure the kind of territorial holdings that the crown bestowed upon others. The Acquaviva of Abruzzo, for example, living in the shadow of the d'Aquino's great county of Loreto, tried to seize the town of Atri and "infeudate" themselves in nearby San Valentino in 1337.⁶⁰ The Pipino, a family promoted through royal service, were equally dissatisfied with their acquisitions. Thanks to royal beneficence they had become great lords in Capitanata: counts of Minervino and Vico and constables of the royal town of Lucera, they had also bought from Queen Sancia the nearby town of San Severo. The rival power of the della Marra family, however, and possibly increased royal control in the region, apparently frustrated the "insatiable and irascible" Giovanni, who with his two younger brothers led a mercenary band on a rampage through the region from 1338 to 1341.⁶¹ Similar cases of noble rivalry and vendetta

⁵⁹ Mazel, "La noblesse provençale," tables 1 and 2. Of the two lesser noble families in his study, the Agoult-Simiane resolved their disputes through direct arbitration with the opposite party eight times, and through the king's court five times (not including the two cases in which the dispute concerned the crown). The Marseille-Trets family resolved their disputes directly three times, through the king's court four times. For the Baux, the numbers are eight for direct resolution, and 38 for arbitration through the king's court.

⁶⁰ Colapietra, "Abruzzo citeriore," 32-33.

⁶¹ Romolo Caggese, "Giovanni Pipino conte d'Altamura," in *Studi di storia napoletana in onore di Michelangelo Schipa* (Naples, 1926), 141-165. See also Camera, *Annali*,

could be cited for Tropea in Calabria, for Sulmona in Abruzzo and for Gaeta on the northwest border of the kingdom.⁶² Such instances of internecine violence were treated rather mildly, as even the aggravated case of the Pipino illustrates. When the people of San Severo took up arms against the Pipino in 1338, at the start of their war, Robert sided with the Pipino as their rightful lords; in 1339 and again in 1341 he was content to broker a peace between them and the della Marra. Only when the Pipino broke the truce with new attacks on their rivals and shut themselves up in their castle of Minervino did Robert order their capture and imprisonment in Castel Capuano in Naples.⁶³ Outbreaks like these disturbed public order, but were not perceived as a serious threat to the crown. Indeed it is the Pipino who have passed into posterity as a symbol of faithless ingratitude toward the royal lord whose generosity created them.⁶⁴

Potentially more ominous than such petty-noble rivalries was the alleged lese majesty of Bartolomeo Signulfo. A member of the urban patriciate of Naples, he had been raised up by Charles II in reward for loyal service: appointed grand chamberlain and enfeoffed with the county of Caserta, he even acquired *merum et mixtum imperium* of his fiefs in 1309, in the last months of Charles' reign. Later that year, when Robert was away from the kingdom for his coronation, Robert's brother Philip of Taranto accused Bartolomeo of treachery. Robert's son and vicar in the kingdom, Charles of Calabria, immediately seized Bartolomeo's fiefs and goods and those of his relatives among Naples' patriciate, while Bartolomeo travelled to Provence to plead his case to the king. Robert, clearly trusting in his father's favored servant, allowed him to return freely to the kingdom to prove his innocence and ordered that the family's confiscated possessions be restored. Upon returning to the kingdom, however—according to later documents of the crown—Bartolomeo sent bandits to murder

1: 448–49; Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASPN* 8 (1883), 382–3. The Della Marra controlled Barletta, a town once under the dominion of the Pipinos' grandfather; by 1337, and perhaps as early as 1331, the crown assumed more direct control of Lucera, as of other towns in the region. On the latter point see Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 1: 479–80, and Colapietra, "Abruzzo citeriore," 33.

⁶² Camera, *Annali*, 1: 442–43; Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASPN* 7 (1882), 244–45.

⁶³ The more precise chronology is offered by the documents in Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASPN* 8 (1883), 215, 382–3.

⁶⁴ Visceglia, *Territorio*, 187.

Philip of Taranto in Aversa, then hid himself in a castle near Pozzuoli. Possibly Robert had some doubts about the affair: it was rumored that Bartolomeo was the lover of Philip's wife, suggesting that Philip was pursuing a vendetta through the royal court.⁶⁵ In any case the king continued to observe proper legal procedure in a way that allowed Bartolomeo every opportunity for evasion. He sent two trusted counts, along with a jurisconsult and notary, to summon Bartolomeo before a high court—one of those sessions in which the presence of comital peers was insisted upon, and which was to be headed by Robert's son and vicar. When Bartolomeo failed to appear he was condemned by the tribunal as a contumacious rebel, but nothing further was done until Robert's return in 1310, when the king again, in person, published banns ordering Bartolomeo's appearance before the crown within the year. Only on 30 December 1310 were his goods finally confiscated; Bartolomeo himself never reappeared.⁶⁶

Such instances of (real or suspected) treachery were, however, both few in number and very limited in scope. In 1323, when Robert was again away in Avignon, he was apprised that "Sicilian rebels were secretly planning treason with some of the residents of the castle of Gerace" in southern Calabria.⁶⁷ The trouble stirred up by the Acquaviva in Abruzzo in the later 1330s was, in Robert's estimation, an example of "Ghibelline" outlawry against the loyal "Guelf" citizens of Atri.⁶⁸ It is possible that the presence of rival powers beyond the kingdom's northern border and in Sicily tempted restless or dissatisfied subjects to alter their political allegiance. It is more likely that such outbreaks of violence were the result of local family ambitions and rivalries. In either case they never expanded to involve large numbers of people, nor were they launched by members of the powerful high aristocracy, and they constituted no real threat to the crown. Robert was vigilant over his nobles, but he had no need to be harsh.

⁶⁵ Francesco Torraca, "Giovanni Boccaccio a Napoli," *ASPN* 39 (1914), 628.

⁶⁶ Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASPN* 7 (1882), 219–223.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 485.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 8 (1883), 31–32. Though the royal document, as summarized by Minieri-Riccio, speaks only of enemy Ghibellines, Colapietra ("Abruzzo citeriore," 245) establishes the precise local context of the conflict: between the traditionally pro-Angevin town of Atri and the Acquaviva, a family motivated by personal gain rather than anti-Angevin political alliance.

The Crown and the Municipalities

Many of the cases heard by the high court or involving the direct intervention of the king involved disputes between the nobility and the *popolo grasso* of the towns. This evident tension suggests that classic opposition in medieval societies between the landed nobility and the burghers, the latter representing, for the monarchy, a means of limiting and counterbalancing the power of the landed aristocracy. The distinction between nobility and townsmen was not always so clear, however. Provence, like northern Italy, was a relatively urbanized region in which the two groups overlapped significantly, with landed nobles often resident in towns and enriched townspeople acquiring country property and marrying into the local nobility.⁶⁹ More surprisingly, perhaps, this same pattern is also found in some parts of southern Italy. A census of 1290 reveals that the provincial nobility of Terra d'Otranto generally possessed property in the region's major town of Lecce, for instance.⁷⁰ Landed nobles also joined the *seggi* (organizations of resident urban aristocracy) in Naples, while the urban patriciate of Naples and of the Amalfi coast obtained feudal holdings in the provinces.⁷¹ In the frequent conflicts between "nobles" and "people" in various southern-Italian towns, therefore, the nobles were often petty barons as well as urban patriciates; indeed, the lessening distinction between burgher and baron doubtless contributed to those conflicts' intensity.

That said, the Angevins had a distinct "town policy" aimed at encouraging municipalities' economic growth, their protection from noble jurisdiction, and their ties to the crown. The Abruzzo region, in particular, enjoyed royal favor. The town of l'Aquila, created by pope Gregory IX to counter the influence of his enemy Frederick II, was a natural ally and favorite of the Angevins, who included it in the royal demesne.⁷² Robert strengthened its ties to the crown and encouraged its merchant oligarchy, especially regarding the sale

⁶⁹ Gérard Giordanengo, "*Qualitas illata per principatum tenentem*. Droit nobiliaire en Provence angevine (XIII^e–XV^e siècle)," in *La noblesse dans les territoires angevins à la fin du moyen âge*, ed. Noël Coulet and Jean-Michel Matz (Rome, 2000), 261–62, 276–77.

⁷⁰ Visceglia, *Territorio*, 184–5.

⁷¹ Vitale, "Uffici, militia," and idem, "La nobiltà napoletana della prima età angioina," *passim*.

⁷² Colapietra, "Abruzzo citeriore," 18–23.

of saffron and wool. Two more demesne towns of the region were also supported. Sulmona was granted a second fair in 1315 to promote its commerce, while Chieti's increased trade, especially in leather, was facilitated by the grant of tax exemptions in port towns in 1318.⁷³ The demesne town of Brindisi, in Terra d'Otranto, became an ever more important port: Robert boasted in 1315 that it was "the more famous among the cities and lands of this province" and encouraged widespread use of its coinage.⁷⁴ The Amalfi coast had mixed fortunes. Amalfi itself, declining since the early thirteenth century, diminished further in the fourteenth, but Salerno thrived. Even after its transfer from direct royal control to that of the Sanseverino, the town retained much municipal liberty and an international commercial network.⁷⁵

Like Frederick II before them, the Angevins took a *dirigiste* approach to the realm's economy, doubtless in order to enrich the crown as much as to stimulate general prosperity.⁷⁶ The cooperative enterprises, financial incentives, and commercial legislation of Robert's government appear aimed to do both, and contributed to the vibrancy of urban centers. The crown involved itself in private shipping enterprises both by renting its own ships to native merchants, for which its fee was half the ship's profits, and by brokering the rental of subjects' ships to foreign merchants, for which service it took a quarter of the profits.⁷⁷ It promoted mining by issuing licenses for private enterprises to work them, reserving for the royal fisc one third of revenue; on occasion it exempted miners from royal taxation, as it did in 1334 and 1335.⁷⁸ It strove to stimulate the native production of wool by offering monetary advances and lands on which to build workshops, and by exempting the enterprises from taxation. According to Georges Yver, enough such businesses had sprouted by 1335 that Robert was no longer constrained to offer the tax exemptions.⁷⁹

⁷³ Ibid., 32–33, 37.

⁷⁴ Visceglia, *Territorio*, 170.

⁷⁵ Mario del Treppo and Alfonso Leone, *Amalfi medioevale* (Naples, 1977), 166–167; Musi, "Principato Citra," 247–249.

⁷⁶ On the tradition of royal direction of the realm's economy see David Abulafia, *Frederick II. A Medieval Emperor* (Oxford, 1988), 214–217; Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou*, 155–165.

⁷⁷ Yver, *Le commerce*, 32–35.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 77–78; Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASPN* 8 (1883), 10.

⁷⁹ Yver, *Le commerce*, 84–85, 89.

Workshops of wool dyers could be found in Capua, Ravello, and the towns of Abruzzo as well as in the capital, home to a profusion of artisanal communities including goldsmiths, soapmakers, leatherworkers, and so on.⁸⁰ To facilitate the flow of commerce as well as the general safety of travel within the realm, Robert ordered public works such as the draining of marshes and construction of bridges to make roads passable, and the erection of roadside hostels.⁸¹ Much royal legislation, finally, was geared to protecting and encouraging commercial activity: shielding merchants from the rapacity of royal officers, ensuring the rights of creditors, but also facilitating the fulfilment of contracts by aiding debtors, for instance by releasing them on bail to allow them an opportunity to repay their debts within a set period of time.⁸²

Foreign merchants and financiers, especially Florentines, took advantage of these opportunities, and the Angevins' close relationship with them resulted in their preferential treatment by the crown.⁸³ The dependence on northern Italian financing and trade has long been a criticized feature of Angevin policy, but in some respects this seems a simplistic assessment. Robert inherited a backlog of debt to the papacy, and worsened his financial balance through his Sicilian wars; Florentine loans were an expedient for these deeper problems, not their cause. Heavy taxation may have been a greater brake on southern-Italian commerce and industry than the presence of Florentine finished goods.⁸⁴ In any case these difficulties were not unique to the Regno: throughout fourteenth-century Europe acute financial difficulties led governments to contract loans from private banks, and increasing regional specialization accentuated economic interdependence. In recent years such interdependence has been viewed more favorably, as a potential stimulus to domestic production and an important source of political leverage, benefiting the kingdom at least as much

⁸⁰ Ibid., 90–91; Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 1: 279–283 offers more examples of Neapolitan artisans.

⁸¹ Yver, *Le commerce*, 70–71; Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASP* 7 (1882), 216–217.

⁸² Commercial legislation, omitted from Trifone's edition of *La legislazione angioina*, is analyzed by Yver, *Le commerce*, who discusses these measures at 38, 41.

⁸³ Abulafia, "Southern Italy and the Florentine Economy," 377–388, and for some specific instances Riccardo Bevere, "Il riposo festivo in Napoli al tempo di Roberto d'Angiò," *ASP*, n.s., 26 (1940), 269–273; R. Predelli, ed., *I libri commemoriali della repubblica di Venezia. Regesti* (Venice, 1876), vol. 2, no. 50.

⁸⁴ Abulafia, "Southern Italy and the Florentine Economy," 388n.

as its northern partners.⁸⁵ On balance the northern-Italian economic connection emerges as a mixed blessing. Since Florentine loans were repaid with rights to export specified quantities of grain, these agreements worsened the effects of the Regno's periodic food shortages. On the other hand, cooperation with Florentine financiers could serve as the foothold by which ambitious commoners challenged the dominance of local patricians. With the help of the Florentine banker Niccolò Acciaiuoli, one Giacomo Gaglioffi, simple townsman of l'Aquila, rose to enormous wealth despite the resistance of local noble families.⁸⁶

Within the southern-Italian commercial environment, the crown labored to encourage economic equity and vitality through its incentives and observance of the law. In 1315, the king defended a group of Neapolitan woolworkers from the local tailors who were trying to extort from them a quarter of all their earnings. In 1336 a conflict erupted between the convent of Santa Maria del Carmine in Naples, which claimed control of the nearby waterfront, and the city's leatherworkers who required access to it for their work, in which dispute the crown again intervened on the artisans' behalf.⁸⁷ The protection of Jewish communities, traditionally prominent in moneylending and commerce, was a source of particular pride for the king.⁸⁸

A number of factors nevertheless worked against the flowering of southern Italian economic life. Debasement of coinage, a common royal strategy of the time, did little to promote merchants' confidence.⁸⁹ Nor did the variety of indirect taxes on goods and traffic, which

⁸⁵ Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou*, 159; Stephan R. Epstein, "Storia economica e storia istituzionale dello Stato," in *Origini dello Stato. Processi di formazione statale in Italia fra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. Giorgio Chittolini et al. (Bologna, 1994), 106.

⁸⁶ Colapietra, "Abruzzo citeriore," 31–32. The legacy he left upon his death in 1335 included houses, lands, mills, vineyards, some 9000 sheep, and a quantity of coin as well as outstanding credits, worth in all several thousand ounces in silver and gold, one quarter of which he bequeathed to Acciaiuoli.

⁸⁷ Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 1: 282–84.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 303–308, on the crown's numerous interventions in cases of violence against Jews. On Robert's boast regarding the conditions of Jews in his realm, see above, Chapter Two, n. 28.

⁸⁹ Debasement of coinage was a common royal strategy of the age, employed frequently by Charles I and Charles II (who devalued coinage no less than three times in the space of two years), and twice by Robert, in 1328 and 1342. See Yver, *Le commerce*, 50–52; Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou*, 163; and Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASP* 8 (1883), 386, for a devaluation in the last year of Robert's reign that caused protest from subjects.

constituted, together with other indirect taxes like the gabelle, one of the crown's two main sources of income.⁹⁰ The extortions of fiscal officials, obscured by a chaotic hierarchy and difficult to control, remained a perennial problem.⁹¹ In short, the kingdom was subject to the adverse conditions of the period and to the common deficiencies of fourteenth-century government. The crown's efforts to improve matters within this context, however, merit notice. Georges Yver concludes that the Angevins "took the trouble to excite subjects' zeal with their encouragement, with the support they gave them at all times, and with the legal measures favoring mercantile enterprises." Though those enterprises met only partial success, whatever success there was resulted from the crown's initiative: "wherever there was no direct royal influence, nothing was created."⁹² Even Romolo Caggese, who places more emphasis on the failure of such influence to create lasting economic vitality, concedes that "the first Angevins, and Robert rather more than his predecessors, considered it their duty to create the most favorable conditions for internal and external commerce."⁹³

Municipal autonomy was another significant feature of Angevin policy, and one that departed from Staufen practice. From the very start of Angevin rule, towns were given the right to elect their own mayors, who represented them in negotiations with the crown or

⁹⁰ On the variety of commercial taxes see Yver, *Le commerce*, 46–49. Gennaro Maria Monti has estimated that the income from indirect taxes as a whole averaged some 45,000 ounces a year, roughly equal to the income from the general subvention. This would put Robert's combined revenues from these two sources at around 90,000 ounces a year. It should be noted, however, that data on indirect taxation is quite incomplete, and even combined revenue is cited for only five years of Robert's reign, all in his last decade. The two other sources of income discussed by Monti are the *adua*, on which, as noted above, we have figures for only two years of the reign, and income from the royal demesne, estimated at some 20,000 ounces annually but, it would appear, on the basis of pure speculation. Monti's is, nevertheless, the most thorough analysis of Robert's annual income: see his "Da Carlo I a Roberto d'Angiò," *ASPN* n.s. 19 (1933), 67–98.

⁹¹ A vivid reflection of this well-known problem is offered by the Venetian consul Giovanni Zorzi, who informed the doge in 1317 that royal portmasters in the Regno were refusing payment of 10,000 ounces gold owed to Venetian merchants, and the affair would have gone better if he had given bribes to the procurator and other royal officials. His report is summarized in Predelli, ed., *Libri commemoriali*, vol. 1, n. 50.

⁹² Yver, *Le commerce*, 37, 96.

⁹³ Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 1: 80, and following pages on the ultimate economic weakness of the realm nevertheless.

with other powers, and who were sometimes referred to as an “ambassadors.” Towns were permitted as well to elect their own judges (if the town belonged to the royal demesne) or *maestri giurati* (if it were part of an ecclesiastical or baronial fief).⁹⁴ The powers held by these elected judges did not—not yet—represent a surrender of royal authority to the towns: they were understood to be royal representatives, acting in the king’s name.⁹⁵

Given such powers of self-government, the towns of the kingdom undertook the kind of political experimentation for which medieval city-states of northern Italy are justly renowned. They organized general parlements and smaller elected councils; when these larger organs proved unwieldy, as they did in several municipalities in the 1330s and 1340s, they implemented smaller magistratures of three or six or ten men, or chose an external podestà—offices which could also be abolished if they proved corrupt, as was the magistrature of Salerno in 1330.⁹⁶ In larger cities like Salerno and Naples, and perhaps in smaller towns as well, the populace organized itself into neighborhood groups (*platee, seggi, sedili*) representing different social strata of the municipality, which vied for possession of the public offices that controlled municipal affairs.⁹⁷ Perhaps the principal motivation for gaining office was to control taxation. In addition to municipal taxes earmarked for local needs, the towns paid what was effectively a direct royal tax, the general subvention. Inaugurated by Frederick II as an extraordinary tax for wartime—the municipal complement of noble military service—it became virtually annual already in Frederick’s time, and was perpetuated by the Angevins. The crown still determined the amount owed by each community, but in a departure from Staufen practice, it was now up to local officials to assess the community’s real and movable property, apportion taxes among its members, and collect the dues before handing

⁹⁴ Francesco Calasso, *La legislazione statutaria dell’Italia meridionale* (Bologna, 1929), 183–5.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 187.

⁹⁶ For examples, see Caggese, *Roberto d’Angiò*, 1: 356–361; Calasso, *La legislazione statutaria*, 213–215.

⁹⁷ Salerno, with a population of roughly 6000, was dominated by three noble *seggi*; in Naples, the older aristocracy formed two *seggi* (of Capuana and Nido), three more represented a newer urban aristocracy, eleven had a mixed population and twenty-five were for the *popolo*. Musi, “Principato Citra,” 248 on Salerno; Vitolo, “Il regno angioino,” 43 on Naples.

them over to the provincial justiciar.⁹⁸ Even a generally unsympathetic student of Robert's reign has called this a "very rational system."⁹⁹ Starting around the middle of Charles I's reign, the crown made some effort to set sums in accordance with each community's actual wealth, while the internal apportionment of those sums, perhaps because it involved competing interest groups, is claimed to have been reasonably accurate and equitable. According to one recent historian, taxation "fell virtually on all, landholders, merchants, artisans, and salaried officials," and sometimes amounted to a "true and proper *catasto*."¹⁰⁰ During Robert's reign it brought in a steady income of circa 44,500 ounces gold per year, making it (along with indirect taxes) one of the crown's principal source of revenue.¹⁰¹

While the equity and efficiency of this system may not have been quite so ideal, it certainly ignited keen competition for public office and control of taxation, in which the crown was often begged to intervene. When the patriciate of Foggia forestalled the tax assessment in 1341 by threatening the provincial justiciar and his colleagues and then, having failed to cow the officials, simply refused to pay, the people of Foggia brought the case to the king in order to see the assessment carried out. A decade earlier in Angri, where the tax assessment was carried out, disgruntled notables first attacked the *popolo*, then accused their victims themselves of murder. This case too went to the king, who disbelieved the patricians' accusation and ordered that "one respect the tax assessment and protect the weak from the strong."¹⁰² Similar cases could be cited for Molfetta (1332) and Sessa (1334); throughout the 1330s and 1340s divided communities regularly petitioned for the intervention and arbitration of the crown.¹⁰³ Sometimes, indeed, a community surrendered some of its rights of self-government out of perceived need for royal aid. The city of Naples, jealous of its customary laws, nevertheless submitted

⁹⁸ Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 1: 316.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Morelli, "Giustizierati e distretti fiscali," 309; Vitolo, "Il regno angioino," 30.

¹⁰¹ Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 1: 613, who notes that the general subvention remained extremely stable from the time of the Sicilian Vespers in 1282 through Robert's reign. Caggese did not speculate on revenues from indirect taxation, but Monti has proposed an average annual revenue of roughly equal amount from this source: see above, at n. 90.

¹⁰² Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 1: 317–319.

¹⁰³ Vitolo, "Il regno angioino," 29, 33.

them to royal review and codification under Charles II “out of uncertainties regarding the law that had become intolerable for the Neapolitans.”¹⁰⁴ In 1329 the town of Atri petitioned king Robert to appoint an outside tax assessor because their own efforts to apportion taxation had proved so divisive.¹⁰⁵

As these instances indicate, the Angevins’ policy of municipal self-government had the great advantage of deflecting the inevitable tensions over leadership and taxation away from the crown, and into the community itself. Whereas in Staufien times communities rebelled against the king in an effort to wrest more privileges from him, now they fought among themselves, in a “struggle for control of provincial centers [that] would prevent the aristocracy from forming large anti-Angevin parties.”¹⁰⁶ This arrangement also made the king less (or less obviously) the authority to be resisted, and more the authority to be invited in for resolution of conflict. Robert’s resolutions consistently avoided favoritism for any one group. For while taxation certainly fell less heavily on urban nobles, and control of governance was never wholly out of their hands—in Naples, furthermore, they enjoyed considerable privileges through their service to the central government—Robert’s interventions in municipal conflict aimed for balance and, above all, proper observance of the law. While still duke of Calabria, for instance, Robert sought to block the aristocracy of Salerno from monopolizing city offices by requiring that members of the *popolo* hold an equal and balancing number of positions. He did the same for Naples in 1311, and again, more favorably toward the *popolo*, after an intense outbreak of class violence in the city in 1339.¹⁰⁷

Even admitting the fluidity obtaining between urban patricians and petty landed nobles, the foregoing cases of intra-urban conflict appear different in kind from the many instances in which a community resisted the imposition of feudal authority. In 1311, for

¹⁰⁴ Carla Vetere, ed., *Le Consuetudini di Napoli. Il testo e la tradizione* (Salerno, 1999), 28.

¹⁰⁵ Calasso, *La legislazione statutaria*, 196.

¹⁰⁶ Vitolo, “Il regno angioino,” 28–29; Musi, “Principato citra,” 250.

¹⁰⁷ Vitolo, “Il regno angioino,” 32, 43. In Salerno, the five magistrates were to be three “noble,” two popular one year, the reverse the next. In Naples, the edict of 1311 specified 3 noble magistrates, 2 popular, one cleric; in 1339 the nobles’ number was reduced to two, with the rest of the populace holding the remaining four.

instance, the islanders of Procida chased away a representative of the local lord who had come to collect an aid for the marriage of the lord's daughter; then, swearing to recognize no longer the authority of the lord or his heirs, they elected their own rectors and imposed a tax on themselves.¹⁰⁸ In 1318 the people of Castroprignano refused to render service and tribute to the local lord, attacked his family and killed his bailiff, then organized and taxed themselves.¹⁰⁹ The people of San Severo assembled their own parlement in the local church in 1313, while in 1321, those of Otranto elected *magistros in populo* authorized to collect taxes.¹¹⁰ Such acts have been described as anti-royal as well as anti-noble, attempts to "usurp from the state its right to impose taxes and tribute."¹¹¹ Possibly some cases did oppose royal officials as well as local nobles (who might indeed be the same person), or at least were presented as such by those officials themselves: a report to the crown regarding the parlement in San Severo described its organizers as "very keen enemies of the royal official" in the region. Yet the people of Castroprignano and Procida certainly saw the crown as their champion: having chased away the local lord, organized, and taxed themselves, they appealed to the crown for redress against their noble oppressor.¹¹² And in fact, Robert regularly reaffirmed the traditional rights and privileges of the municipalities. In 1333, he approved "the municipal laws, provisions, customs, and general reforms of the municipality of Tortona, presented to him by its syndics and ambassadors," only "setting apart his own rights and anything that might harm them."¹¹³ In following years he provided similar confirmation of local capitularies to Amantea, Briatico, Nardò, Ferentino, Troia, Sperlonga, Atri, Chieti, and Sulmona.¹¹⁴ Thus when the king noted, in 1321, that "there are in Ortona many oppressors of the poor who, boldly making themselves masters of the people, presume to collect taxes," he was not railing against municipal officials as such—locally elected judges and tax collectors were an integral part of Angevin administration—but against unauthorized ones. In sum, barring any diminution of royal authority or of

¹⁰⁸ Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 1: 362.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 330.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 363–64.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 364.

¹¹² See above, nn. 108–109.

¹¹³ Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASPN* 8 (1883), 8.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 29, 199, 201, 205–06, 209–210.

rights specifically granted (like Sanseverino's lordship of Salerno) by the king, Robert appears to have preserved municipal rights and freedoms, and to have been viewed as their champion against the presumptions of the local nobility.

The overall balance of royal dependence on towns versus landed nobility remains a matter of scholarly dispute. Some conclude that crown support of municipalities "remained wholly marginal in the face of the crown's need to maintain the faithfulness of the barons and their military force."¹¹⁵ Others, however, consider the towns the "centerpiece of royal establishment of power in the early fourteenth century" and its principal base of provincial control.¹¹⁶ Conclusions will differ depending on what region one examines. Municipalities were certainly more prominent in the Abruzzi than in Basilicata, livelier on the coasts than in the interior. All told, however, the contrary opinions of scholars appear related to the tendency to treat the question as either/or. As in its balance of great landholders and lesser nobility, native and transalpine, old and newly created, so in its balance of feudal favor and municipal support, the crown pursued a policy of equilibrium among different social groups in which the crown itself retained its role as the center, the arbiter of conflict, and the source of opportunity.

The Royal Administration: Personnel and Policy

The choice of individuals to staff the central and provincial offices of government is another index of crown relations with different subject groups, and one much analyzed in other European polities for its reflection on the nature of the princely court and the relationship between "center" and "periphery." For the Angevins, who had an extensive administration in both Provence and the Regno and "satellite" officers in many areas of northern Italy, that personnel was very numerous, and its precise composition, especially in the provinces, remains to be fully documented.¹¹⁷ Even the scattered ref-

¹¹⁵ Giovanni Tabacco, "La storia politica e sociale dal tramonto dell'impero alle prime formazioni di Stati regionali," in *Storia d'Italia* (Turin, 1974), vol. 2, part 1, 210.

¹¹⁶ Colapietra, "Abruzzo citeriore," 26.

¹¹⁷ Morelli, who has amassed a great deal of such prosopographical information

erences to such personnel, however, sketch out a general picture of the crown's reliance on different sectors of the populace for its various bureaux and provincial representatives.

The careers of a few families give a sense of the patterns of their involvement in government service. The Sanseverino served the crown as military leaders, both against Angevin enemies and as captains within the realm. Robert's trust in the family was demonstrated at the start of his reign, when he chose Tommaso di Sanseverino, count of Marsico, as one of two nobles charged with summoning Bartolomeo Signulfo before the kingdom's high tribunal and with participating in the tribunal's judgment.¹¹⁸ No less than four members of the family were in the train of Duke Charles of Calabria when he assumed the signory of Florence in 1326, while a fifth Sanseverino joined the crown's expedition against Sicily in the same year.¹¹⁹ In 1327 and 1328, as the threat of invasion by Ludwig of Bavaria increased, the Sanseverino figured prominently in the crown's efforts to secure its borders. Under the authority of the justiciar of Terra di Lavoro (one Giovanni di Diano), Tommaso di Sanseverino served as captain general of the area from Fondi, on the northwestern coast of the kingdom, to Sora in the interior, while Giordano Ruffo, count of Montalto, surveyed the area from Sora eastward to Alba.¹²⁰ The following year it was Giacomo di Sanseverino, count of Chiaromonte, who served with the same Giordano Ruffo to defend the town of Rieti in the papal state, while Guglielmo di Sanseverino patrolled the southerly coast from Agropoli to Policastro, under the general captainship of Guglielmo Sabran, count of Ariano.¹²¹ Clearly, the military forces of the Sanseverino were mobilized throughout and beyond the kingdom, generally in cooperative enterprises with other great noble families and non-noble royal officials. In the more peaceful years of the 1330s, the Sanseverino were charged with internal oversight of different provinces. In 1331 Giacomo, count of Chiaromonte, was captain general in Terra di Bari, where he was especially to protect the

on the administrations of Charles I and Charles II, notes the remaining limits in our knowledge in "La storiografia," 1038, 1042–43.

¹¹⁸ Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASPN* 7 (1882), 222–23.

¹¹⁹ Knights sent on these missions are listed in Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASPN* 7 (1882), 491–94.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 655.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 660–63.

Angevin patrimony of the region; in 1334 Guglielmo was provincial justiciar of Calabria.¹²²

The Sabran were equally trusted. It was Ermengaud de Sabran who accompanied Tommaso di Sanseverino to summon and judge Bartolomeo Siginulfo; his son Elzear served as tutor and regent for king Robert's son, and as a royal ambassador, until his death in 1323.¹²³ This family too, enfeoffed with two counties in Principato Ultra, often served as military captains in border regions. In 1328 Guglielmo de Sabran was captain general in Abruzzo, except for the royal town of l'Aquila which the crown oversaw directly. Later the same year, as mentioned above, he was sent as captain general to Calabria, where two other noblemen defended particular regions of province under him.¹²⁴

Significantly, none of the abovementioned posts was in the family's home province. Still, great nobles did sometimes combine the power of their feudal holdings with royal offices in the same region. The military force of the Ruffo family was put to use in their native province of Calabria on several occasions, though generally in concert with another noble captain or non-noble official. Guglielmo Ruffo, count of Sinopoli, was sent to quell suspected rebels in the Calabrian castle of Gerace in 1323, accompanied by the province's justiciar Marino Cossa; in 1328 the captainship of Calabria was shared by a Ruffo (count of Catanzaro) and a Sangineto (count of Corigliano), while in 1329 the knights ordered to defend the Calabrian coast were assembled by the provincial justiciar before passing under the military orders of the Ruffo.¹²⁵ In short, the region's affairs were never left wholly in their hands, and often, as we have seen, they were absent from the province on other royal missions. That Guglielmo Ruffo who pacified rebels in Gerace, for instance—a promising occasion to solidify comital power in Calabria—was sent to Tuscany in the train of king Robert's son in 1327–28; in 1331 he was provincial justiciar of Abruzzo Ultra in the north of the kingdom, and at the end of that year was assigned as captain general in Rieti outside the kingdom proper.¹²⁶ Replacing him as Abruzzese justiciar was

¹²² *Ibid.*, vol. 7 (1882), 675–76, and vol. 8 (1883), 13.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, vol. 7 (1882), 222–23; on Elzear's career see above at Chapter Two, n. 45.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 656, 663.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 485, 662–3, 667.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 491–92, 679.

Adenulfo d'Aquino, who thus gained an important royal post in a province dominated by his family. But much of Adenulfo's career, too, took place elsewhere: as justiciar in the province of Val di Crati/Terra Giordana, in Tuscany in the train of Duke Charles, as a military captain outside the realm.¹²⁷ Guglielmo de Sabran was made bailli of Sisteron from 1328 to 1330, a position conducive to consolidating influence in the family's Provençal barony of Ansouis, but he held no known offices near his southern-Italian counties of Ariano and Apice, and had to serve on several occasions in different provinces such as Abruzzo and Calabria.¹²⁸

Members of the lesser nobility also served frequently as provincial justiciars and captains and were encouraged by the crown in their territorial acquisitions, thus balancing the influence of great landed families. Among the better documented members of this stratum was the family of Jacques Burson, who came to the Regno in the train of Charles I. In addition to military duties outside the kingdom, Jacques obtained a territorial foothold in the realm through his appointment as castellan of Nocera and Rocca Piemonte (both in Principato Citra), of Brindisi in Terra d'Otranto, and of Satriano in Basilicata. He consolidated his position in Principato Citra through a marriage that brought him a third of the lordship of Nocera, and though Charles II forced him to give up the castle of Nocera (which returned to the royal demesne), he compensated him with an annual rent of eighty ounces, conferred Rocca Piemonte on him in fief, and gave him other holdings in the region as well. This territorial base was augmented by frequent military duties in the province. At the end of his life Jacques attained his highest government post, as justiciar of Terra di Bari. The career of Jacques' son Riccardo was similar, though more prestigious. In 1302 he was simultaneously provincial justiciar and captain in Principato Citra, where he continued his father's program of territorial consolidation, and served as military captain there a second time under Robert, in 1327–28. Meanwhile he served frequently as provincial justiciar in other regions: in Terra di Bari after 1302, in Terra d'Otranto (1316), and in Val di Crati/Terra Giordana (1332–33). In 1335, the family was promoted to the rank of count for their other holding, Satriano, in

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 214, 491–2, 674, 679.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 656, 663, 666.

Basilicata.¹²⁹ The family's rise owed much to their own initiative in arranging strategic marriages and acquiring lands, but it was royal favor that first installed them and then encouraged their efforts. In an initial phase royal beneficence focused on establishing the family in Principato Citra, where the Burson were granted fiefs, rents, and administrative-military posts; increasingly thereafter the family served as royal representatives in other provinces of the realm, before being ennobled in yet a different region, Basilicata, toward the end of Robert's reign.

Other members of the knightly class frequently served as a balance to comital power in the provinces, though not always with the landholding success of the Burson. The counts of Calabria served under one Marino Cossa, justiciar of the province, in 1323; Giovanni di Diano held the justiciarate of Terra di Lavoro in 1327. The knight Giovanni Barrile, known to literary scholars for his friendship with Petrarch, made a regular career of provincial service in the 1330s. First captain in Calabria, he was thereafter provincial justiciar in Terra di Bari, in Calabria, and in Principato Ultra; in 1341–42 he was both captain general and justiciar of Terra di Lavoro and the county of Molise.¹³⁰ Gaudio Romano di Scalea, whose relative Ademario was longtime vice-admiral of the royal fleet, served as a military captain in Principato Citra and in Calabria before combining the posts of captain and provincial justiciar of Calabria in 1329.¹³¹ Giacomo Cantelmo, scion of a Provençal family that followed Charles I into the kingdom, was simultaneously captain and provincial justiciar in Abruzzo Ultra in 1295 before assuming, under Robert, posts in the central administration: regent of the court of the Vicaria in 1311, he was master *panettiere* (provisioner of the armies) in 1313–1314, and lieutenant seneschal in Provence the following year.¹³² Though evidence is admittedly patchy, it would seem that the positions of military captain and provincial justiciar were more often combined in members of the petty nobility, who therefore con-

¹²⁹ Pollastri, "Les Burson," 95–99.

¹³⁰ I. Walter, "Barrile, Giovanni," in *DBI*, vol. 6, 529–530.

¹³¹ Gaudio Romano was captain general in Principato Citra in 1325 (Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASPN* 7 [1882], 489), and in Calabria in 1328 (*ibid.*, 662–63) before holding both major provincial posts concurrently in Calabria in 1329 (*ibid.*, 667). Ademario Romano di Scalea is mentioned as vice-admiral from 1326 to 1332: *ibid.*, 490–91, 676, 683.

¹³² M. Hayez, "Cantelmo, Giacomo," in *DBI*, vol. 18, 266–267.

stituted a more solid counterweight to provincial comital authority. Certainly many made careers in government service, and could hope to be promoted in the feudal hierarchy, like Riccardo Burson, as a result. Riccardo Gambatesta was given fiefs in Capitanata in 1322 in reward for his “constancy, fidelity, and bravery” as military captain in Genoa three years earlier; Gazzo di Dinisiaco, a captain along the kingdom’s northern border in 1328, held the newly created county of Terlizzi in Terra di Bari by 1332.¹³³

Also prominent in Robert’s administration was the urban patriciate of Naples who served the crown in a wide variety of capacities. The career of Bartolomeo Siginulfo was a spectacular case of upward social mobility until his fall from grace at the start of Robert’s reign, but other families from the noble *seggi* of Naples made solid careers in royal service. The Caracciolo, principally settled in the city’s *seggio* of Capuana, were frequently administrators of the Neapolitan *studium*, overseen by and in close collaboration with the crown; Landulfo became an important bishop in the kingdom, in part through Robert’s support.¹³⁴ Other members of the family served as royal vicars, marshals, and envoys. Niccolò Caracciolo, described in 1310 as royal chamberlain, marshal, counsellor and familiar, was appointed Robert’s vicar in Romagna. Giovanni became royal vicar in Anagni in the papal state in 1329, while Riccardo was sent, five years later, on an embassy in Lombardy.¹³⁵ Members of the Brancaccio family served in the train of Robert’s son during his signory of Florence in the mid-1320s; upon returning from this assignment at the end of 1327, Marino Brancaccio was made military captain along the coast of Terra di Lavoro.¹³⁶ According to Giuliana Vitale, many members of the family served as provincial justiciars throughout the fourteenth century, though whether this was frequent already in Robert’s time is unclear.¹³⁷ Certainly they rose in the central administration during Robert’s reign: Bartolomeo Brancaccio, archbishop of Trani, was named vice-chancellor in 1334. One sign of the family’s allegiance

¹³³ Minieri-Riccio, “Genealogia,” *ASP* 7 (1882), 477, 484 (for Gambatesta); 658, 662, 680 (for Dinisiaco).

¹³⁴ Gennaro Maria Monti, “L’età angioina,” in *Storia della Università di Napoli*, ed. Francesco Torraca et al. (Naples, 1924), 43–44; M. Palma, “Caracciolo, Landulfo,” in *DBI*, vol. 19, 406–410.

¹³⁵ Minieri-Riccio, “Genealogia,” *ASP* 7 (1882), 225, 668; *ASP* 8 (1883), 8.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 7 (1882), 491–2, 655.

¹³⁷ Vitale, “Uffici, militia,” 35.

to the crown was its selection of the church of San Domenico, a frequent Angevin necropolis, as the site of their family chapel. It was here that Bartolomeo was buried in 1341, with a eulogy by one of the king's court preachers, Giovanni Regina.¹³⁸

The Brancaccio and Caracciolo represented the old urban patriciate long established in the capital, but in the Angevin period they were joined by numerous merchant families from the Amalfi coast—the Spina, Aldemorisco, Dentice, and others—who often held fiscal offices in the royal administration, in which their wealth served (so it was supposed) as a guarantee against corruption. As a longtime scholar of the Neapolitan aristocracy has observed, the *seggi* of the capital were “an inexhaustible storehouse that the crown accessed to people its administration,” providing “very numerous families . . . who engaged, if not indeed specialized, in certain sectors of public office.”¹³⁹ A famous early example of the Amalfitan merchant aristocracy was the Rufolo family of Ravello, installed by 1269 in the noble Neapolitan *seggio* of Nido. They were among the most important bankers to Charles I, rented out their ships to the crown, and took on important fiscal positions like that of *secretus*. The later fortunes of the Rufolo reveal how dependent upon royal service such families of the petty nobility became. Accused of embezzlement in 1283—perhaps a pretext for the crown, much in need of funds for the war against Sicily, to seize the family's wealth—the Rufolo never recovered their once considerable status. From the late thirteenth through the fifteenth century, they made their living as local judges or clerics, an example of “an impoverished urban aristocracy turned to juridical or ecclesiastical careers.”¹⁴⁰

Juridical expertise was itself a means of advancement in the royal administration. While maintaining a balance of great and lesser nobility seems to have been a primary criterion in the selection of military officers and omnicompetent provincial justiciars, the bureaux of the central administration required specialized skills. The highest positions in the judicial hierarchy—regent of the Vicarial Tribunal, mas-

¹³⁸ Minieri-Riccio, “Genealogia,” *ASP* 8 (1883), 12; Kaeppli, “Note sugli scrittori,” 60–61.

¹³⁹ Vitale, “Nobiltà napoletana della prima età angioina,” 537–38.

¹⁴⁰ François Widemann, “Les Rufolo. Les voies d’anoblissement d’une famille de marchands en Italie méridionale,” in *La noblesse dans les territoires angevins*, ed. Noël Coulet and Jean-Michel Matz (Rome, 2000), 115–130, with quotation at 128.

ter justiciar—were sometimes given to the high nobility. Ermengaud de Sabran had been appointed master justiciar by Charles II, and retained the post in the first years of Robert's reign; in 1313 the post passed to Gentile Orsino, a sometime military captain related to the count of Nola.¹⁴¹ Giacomo Cantelmo, from a less prominent family, was regent of the Vicarial Tribunal in 1311; from 1314 to at least 1326 the post was held by Giovanni de Haya, from a family of great ecclesiastical seigneurs.¹⁴² Yet the bulk of positions in the tribunals and in the treasury went to trained legal experts from more humble backgrounds: in Provence as in the Regno, legal training put into government service was a path to upward social mobility.¹⁴³ Indeed, it could lead to the highest posts in the Angevin hierarchy. By 1334 the head of the high royal tribunal was a trained legal expert, Giovanni Rivestro; Bartolomeo da Capua and Andrea d'Isernia, among the highest ranking officials in the administration, were jurists of humble backgrounds, and similar men attained high posts (*juge mage*, vice-seneschal, seneschal) in Provence as well.¹⁴⁴ All told, it appears no contradiction to say that the crown favored both the high nobility and humbler social strata (an urban merchant aristocracy, trained men of modest social background), and that the mixture of officials from different social groups contributed to the increasingly professionalized character of government functionaries as a whole.¹⁴⁵

In addition to balancing the social composition of its administration, the crown oversaw and adjusted the duties of royal officers in

¹⁴¹ Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASP* 7 (1882), 222–23 (on Ermengaud), 230 (on Gentile Orsini). Gentile's relative Romano was count of Nola by 1326: *ibid.*, 493–4.

¹⁴² Hayez, "Cantelmo, Giacomo," 266–267; Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASP* 7 (1882), 237, 493–4.

¹⁴³ On the social backgrounds and careers of jurists in Provence, see Jean-Luc Bonnaud, "L'implantation des juristes dans les petites et moyennes villes de Provence au XIV^e siècle," in *La justice temporelle*, forthcoming. This pattern is well documented for the Regno: see the examples discussed in Chapter Two, nn. 132–4, and for a general conclusion, Vitolo, "Il regno angioino," 58.

¹⁴⁴ Giovanni Rivestro, professor of civil law, was regent of the Vicarial Tribunal in 1334 (Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASP* 8 [1883], 11). Jean Cabassoles, *maestro razionale* of the royal treasury from 1307, was *juge mage* and vice-seneschal of Provence from 1314 to 1316 (M. Hayez, "Cabassole, Jean," in *DBI*, vol. 15, 676–78). Giovanni Eaublanc, jurisconsult and former *maestro razionale*, became seneschal in 1329 (Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASP* 7 [1882], 667).

¹⁴⁵ See the sketch by Vitolo, "Il regno angioino," 57–58.

an effort to facilitate their effectiveness. In police matters, the collaboration of military captains and provincial justiciars was crucial, and their joint oversight of armed forces was, as we have seen, a feature of Angevin directives.¹⁴⁶ Provincial justiciars themselves were sometimes given extraordinary powers and authorized to hire extra armed men, as they were in Lucera in 1324, in Val di Crati in 1328, in Gaeta in 1329, and in Abruzzo Citra in 1333.¹⁴⁷ In addition to increasing their manpower, Robert reformed their jurisdiction to render their efforts more effective. Because bandits were known to evade justice by fleeing from one province to another, for instance, Robert authorized the provincial justiciars to pursue malefactors up to fifteen miles beyond their province's borders.¹⁴⁸ Scholars have generally acknowledged the "enormous mass of police measures" effected to combat brigandage, and the Angevins' great efforts to "reestablish tranquility in towns and on roads, [for which] legislation gave them a formidable weapon."¹⁴⁹

The legal as well as the police system of the realm was reformed, from the highest to the lowest levels. As we have seen, Robert inherited from his predecessor the existence of two high tribunals, the Vicarial court and that of the master justiciar. The creation of the former had been itself a reform, intended to render judgment more quickly and efficiently in certain cases. What those cases were, however, and hence how the Vicarial Tribunal related to the older high court, appears to have been vague. Romualdo Trifone states that the Great Tribunal generally oversaw criminal cases, the Vicarial Tribunal civil ones; Matteo Camera notes that the Vicarial Tribunal was forbidden from intervening in feudal matters, appeals from lower courts, or cases pertaining to royal officials, all of which pertained to the Great Tribunal, "except for cases of oppression, delayed justice, or other, similar extraordinary matters."¹⁵⁰ In practice it seems that most

¹⁴⁶ See above at nn. 120, 125 for some examples.

¹⁴⁷ Yver, *Le commerce*, 65. The province of the Abruzzi, like that of Principato, was divided into two parts, *citra* and *ultra*.

¹⁴⁸ Camera, *Annali*, 2: 466; Yver, *Le commerce*, 65.

¹⁴⁹ Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 1: 339; Yver, *Le commerce*, 64.

¹⁵⁰ The quotation is from Camera, *Annali*, 420n. See also Cadier, *I grandi uffizi*, 81–82, where the capitulary for the master justiciar of the Great Tribunal reads, "et etiam curie vicarii, a qua ad ipsam magnam curiam et non ad aliam volumus appellari immediate, de questionibus etiam nostrorum curialium qui immediate nobis assistunt."

cases could easily fall under the rubric of grave oppression or delayed justice, and that the Vicarial and Great Tribunal came to overlap considerably. To remedy the resulting confusion and administrative bloat, therefore, Robert undertook another reform, abolishing the court of the master justiciar in 1336 on the grounds that the Vicarial Court was sufficient.¹⁵¹ On the local level, Robert established greater central control over the judges who, though elected by their communities, nonetheless served as representatives of the crown, ordering in 1341 that all local judges be tested for competence and licensed by the royal protonotary.¹⁵²

While the efficiency of police and legal matters might be facilitated through such measures, the corruption or rapacity of officials constituted a more intractable problem, for the Angevins as for most governments. Fiscal officers were most notorious, and the complicated system of tax collection—which involved five different kinds of officers, sometimes with overlapping jurisdictions, and answerable to different superiors (justiciar, admiral, seneschal) depending on the type of tax collected—made them difficult to regulate closely.¹⁵³ Already known for their extortions in the reign of Charles I, these fiscal officers continued to inspire subjects' complaints during Robert's reign.¹⁵⁴ But other officers were certainly not immune to the temptation, as in Barletta, where the local butchers were forced to pay an enormous "gift" or bribe to local officials, or in Brindisi where the provincial justiciar extorted sums from merchants at the local fair.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹ "Considerantes quod in singulis iustitiariatibus regni huius presunt persone notabiles et sufficientes, per nos ad illorum regimen deputate, in quibus sufficienter et provide se gesserunt, et actento quod ultra hoc una curia generalis sicut est Curia Vicarie, ad generale ipsius regni regimen sufficere noscitur." Reprinted in Trifone, *La legislazione angioina*, no. 184; see also Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASP* 8 (1883), 28. Émile Léonard states that the office was first suppressed in 1324, reestablished in 1326, and suppressed again in 1327, but these acts are mentioned by no other scholar: see *Les Angevins de Naples* (Paris, 1954), 277.

¹⁵² Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASP* 8 (1883), 384.

¹⁵³ Cadier, *Essai*, 23–25; Trifone, *La legislazione angioina*, xlvii–xlviii.

¹⁵⁴ Cadier, *Essai*, 23, notes the particularly violent attacks on *secreti* during the Sicilian Vespers of 1282. Complaints of corrupt *secreti* in Terra di Lavoro came to the King's attention in 1334: see Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASP* 8 (1883), 14. Foreign merchants also complained of the fiscal officers: in 1317 the Venetian consul Giovanni Zorzi informed the doge that royal portmasters were refusing payment of 10,000 ounces gold owed to Venetian merchants, and the affair would have gone better if he had given bribes to the procurator and other royal officials. See the document in Predelli, *Libri commemoriali*, vol. 1, no. 50.

¹⁵⁵ Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 1: 283; Yver, *Le commerce*, 74.

When complaints of these and similar abuses came to the high court's attention, the court sought to resolve them case by case, as the royal documents describing them illustrate. The provincial justiciar of Terra d'Otranto, found guilty of misbehavior, was suspended from office in 1317.¹⁵⁶ In 1334 the king ordered the woolworkers of Terra di Lavoro be shielded from the depredations of the province's fiscal official, the *secretus*.¹⁵⁷ But the crown took preventive measures as well that were intended to guarantee the scrupulousness of royal representatives. Numerous edicts laid out the duties and proper procedures of specific offices (judges of lower courts, fiscal officers) and of the administrative hierarchy as a whole, while others reminded them of their duty to eliminate fighting and to protect widows, orphans, and clergy.¹⁵⁸ More specific reforms probably resulted from subjects' complaints. Thus in 1315, having heard that year-long posts allowed his captains ample opportunity for corruption, the king cut their term to six months; in 1324 he abolished the office of subvicar in Provence; in 1327 or 1328, he warned provincial officers to stay in their posts until their successor arrived.¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, to ensure that these officials fulfilled their duties scrupulously Robert regularly commanded a trustworthy judge of the high court to investigate their behavior. General or partial inquests occurred five times during Robert's reign, in 1321, 1324, 1328, 1334, and 1341.¹⁶⁰ Perhaps discouraged by their findings, in 1329 he issued two edicts setting "exceptional provisions" for officials' crimes. At the same time, he reformed the system of selecting officials itself by prohibiting the solicitation of royal posts: an office, he declared, "should not go to the one who asks, but to the one who does not desire it."¹⁶¹ Overall, nearly half of the legislation of Robert's reign, excluding commer-

¹⁵⁶ Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASP* 7 (1882), 260. The penalty for a second offense was seizure of goods: see Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 1: 351–52.

¹⁵⁷ Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia," *ASP* 8 (1883), 14.

¹⁵⁸ Trifone, *La legislazione angioina*, nos. 94, 103, 138 (on norms and procedures of offices); nos. 120, 148 on protecting the weak and eliminating fighting.

¹⁵⁹ Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 1: 350–51; Trifone, *La legislazione angioina*, no. 147.

¹⁶⁰ All these inquests are noted by Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 1: 351–2, except that of 1324, recorded in Trifone, *La legislazione angioina*, edict no. 132 (inaugurating the inquest) and no. 136 (suspending it). The judges charged with the inquest are not always specified, but in 1321 it was Giovanni di Porta, judge of Great Tribunal, and in 1328 the appellate judge Francesco da Pisa.

¹⁶¹ The two edicts of special provisions are nos. 155 and 156 in Trifone, *La legislazione angioina*; on prohibiting the solicitation of royal offices, see Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 1: 344–45.

cial matters, had to do with oversight of provincial officials or clarification of legal and administrative procedure.¹⁶² Such surveillance was the only means to combat that characteristic problem of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: the abuse or manipulation of the administrative and judicial hierarchy, by the officials who staffed it but also by subjects who exploited their knowledge of the judicial system to circumvent it.

Royal Publicity: Robert's Sermons on Justice

What the state did in terms of legislation, policing, administrative reform, and its general relations with different social groups was, obviously, central to its governing reputation, but significant as well were the king's efforts to portray himself as just and the image purveyed through that publicity. By orating frequently on the subject of royal justice—to legal scholars, to royal officials, on judicial occasions and when negotiating peace in turbulent communities—Robert promoted his identification with this classic ruling virtue. Indeed, he turned to this theme even on apparently unrelated occasions. When preaching to the provincial chapter of the Franciscan Order in Naples, Robert stressed that the king was mighty, but chose to be mild. As Job had said, *though I sat as a king surrounded by the army, I comforted the mourners*—words that illustrated the king's celestial majesty and strength, but also his sweet clemency. As was written in Esther, Chapter 13, *Though I commanded many peoples . . . I have not wished in any way to abuse the magnitude of my power, but to govern my subjects with clemency and mildness*.¹⁶³ Though the occasion at hand was religious,

¹⁶² This estimate is based on the 106 legislative acts recorded for Robert's reign by Trifone in *La legislazione angioina*, which study explicitly excludes commercial affairs.

¹⁶³ "Sancto Job documentum ait enim 29 [:25], *dum sederem quasi rex circumstante me exercitu eram tamen merentium consolator*. Actendamus quam pulcre conveniunt: celsitudo eminentie maiestatis (*dum sederem quasi rex*), fortitudo potentie vel potestatis (*circumstante me exercitu*), et dulcedo clementie ac pietatis (*eram tamen merentium consolator*). Et ista tria similiter tangit verbum illius regis Hest. 13 [:2]. *Cum plurimus gentibus imperarem quantum ad maiestatis celsitudinem, nequaquam volui magnitudine potentie abuti quantum ad potestatis fortitudinem, sed clementia et lenitate gubernare subiectos, quantum ad pietatis dulcedinem*." From the sermon inc. "*Congregationi pauperum affabilem te facito* (Eccl. 4:7)," bearing the rubric "collatio facta in capitulo provinciali fratrum minorum Neapoli celebrato": Bibl. Ang. 151, fols. 184v–185r. The cited chapter from Esther no longer appears in modern Bibles but was part of the Vulgate.

the assembled friars were all Robert's subjects, and the king's emphasis on those qualities that would make him lovable to his people does not appear inappropriate. The election of a new pope called to mind the nature of governance, and inspired Robert to observe, citing Aristotle, that "rulers rightly seek and give full attention to the common good. For this is the difference between a king and a tyrant, that the king attends to the common good, the tyrant to his own."¹⁶⁴ For the translation of St. Louis of Anjou's remains in 1319 one might expect Robert to preach on the virtues of his brother, or to glorify the dynasty, as his court preachers often did, as an example of *beata stirps*. Instead he took advantage of the assembled audience of prelates and Marseillais subjects to discourse at length, and rather abstractly, on the subject of legal justice.¹⁶⁵ In sum, Robert appears to have used whatever occasion was at hand to publicize his knowledge of and interest in justice.

Furthermore, he devoted eleven sermons explicitly to justice and related virtues and to their ideal outcome, peace. Three are general discourses on the theme, lacking identifying rubrics or clues within the sermon about their specific context.¹⁶⁶ A fourth also lacks a rubric, but its content suggests it was preached to an audience of royal officials in the context of administrative reform; a fifth was given "on behalf of a sentence to be handed down," and hence for a judicial occasion.¹⁶⁷ Six more were preached to promote peace and observance of the law in turbulent communities of the realm.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ "Hoc commune bonum intendunt summe et querunt recte principantes. Nam hoc est differentia regis ad tyrannum, quod rex intendit comune bonum, tyrannus privatum: sic habetur 8 Ethicorum et 2 Politicorum." In the sermon inc. "*Domini est assumptio nostra*": Bibl. Ang. 150, at fol. 165v. A second copy of this sermon in a Neapolitan manuscript bears the rubric, "sermo de assumptione cuiusdam ad papatum": see Walter Goetz, *König Robert von Neapel* (Tübingen, 1910), 52n.

¹⁶⁵ Inc. "*Enoch ante translationem testimonium habuit placuisse Deo* (Hebr. 11:5)": Venice, Bibl. Marciana, MS 2101, pp. 117–120.

¹⁶⁶ Inc. "*Misericordia et veritas custodiunt regem et roboratur clementia thronus eius* (Prov 20:28)": Bibl. Ang. 150, fols. 65r–67r. Inc. "*Iustitia iusti super eum erit* (Ez. 18:20)": Bibl. Ang. 150, fols. 84r–86v. Inc. "*Fili concupiscens sapientiam, serva iustitiam* (Eccl.us 1:33)": Bibl. Ang. 150, fols. 69r–74r.

¹⁶⁷ Inc. "*In habundantia iustitia virtus maxima est* [cf. Prov. 15:5]": Bibl. Ang. 150, fols. 60r–65r. Inc. "*De vultu tuo iudicium meum prodeat* (Ps. 16:2)," with the rubric "collatio pro sententia proferenda": Bibl. Ang. 151, fols. 133r–134r. The latter sermon is edited in Jean-Paul Boyer, "Une théologie du droit. Les sermons juridiques du roi Robert de Naples et de Barthélemy de Capoue," in *Saint-Denis et la royauté. Études offertes à Bernard Guenée*, ed. F. Autrand et al. (Paris, 1999), 658–59.

¹⁶⁸ "Collatio pro pace et lege domini," inc. "*Pax multa diligentibus legem tuam et non*

A notable quality of many of these sermons is their theoretical tone and specialized philosophical vocabulary. To explain that justice is paramount among the virtues, "since it anticipates the act of every virtue, or as we understand it to mean every virtue," Robert launched into a rather abstract dissection of the constituent elements not of justice, but of virtue generally, citing Aristotle's *Ethics*.¹⁶⁹ Virtue was a kind of potential perfection, and perfection was to be considered in relation to its end; the end of potentiality (or power) was action. Further, there were different kinds of potentialities, or powers: natural active ones, which determined their own relation to their acts; rational ones, which were indeterminate in themselves; the power to be, which derives from matter, which is being in its potentiality, and the power to act, which derives from form; and so on.¹⁷⁰ Similarly, in another of his general sermons on the subject, where the first requirement to serve justice was a "primary judicial disposition," the explanation of that disposition became a discourse on the differences between efficient, material, formal, and final causes.¹⁷¹ Such sermons

est illis scandalum [Ps. 119/165]: Bibl. Ang. 150, fols. 112v–113v. "De pace tractanda et facienda in aliqua civitate inter cives," inc. "*Rogate que ad pacem sunt Jerusalem et habundantia in turribus tuis* (Ps. 131:6)": Bibl. Ang. 150, fol. 88r. "Ut pax sit in universitate," inc. "*Fiat tunc pax et veritas in diebus nostris* (4 Reg 20:19)": Bibl. Ang. 150, fol. 106v. "Sermo de remedio apponendo," inc. "*Homines pestilentes dissipant civitatem, sapientes vero avertunt furorem*": Bibl. Ang. 150, fols. 27r–31r. "Collatio quam fecit rex Sicilie cunctis civibus Neapolis super pacem inter eos ineundem," inc. "*Querite pacem civitatis* (Jer. 29:7)": Bibl. Ang. 151, fol. 116v. The sixth deals with conflict between a city and its feudal lord: inc. "*Oritur sol et occidit et ad locum suum revertitur* (Eccl. 1:5)": Bibl. Ang. 150, fol. 87v. Some of these sermons' rubrics lack in the Angelica manuscripts, but are present in other manuscript copies: see the catalog of Goetz, *König Robert*, 46–68.

¹⁶⁹ "Hic loquemus de iustitia prout est omnis virtus, id est, quia precipit actus omnium virtutum vel prout intelligimus per eam omnem virtutem." In the sermon inc. "*Iustitia iusti super eum erit*": see above, n. 166.

¹⁷⁰ "Virtus nominat quandam perfectionem potentie. . . . Perfectio precipue consideratur in ordine ad suum finem; finis autem potentie actus est. . . . Sunt autem quedam potentie que secundum seipsas sunt determinate ad suos actus sicut potentie naturales active. . . . Potentie autem rationales que sunt potentie proprie hominis non sunt determinate ad unum sed se habent indeterminate ad multa. . . . Unde cum duplex sit potentia, scilicet potentia ad esse et potentia ad agere, virtus quando potentie perfectio virtus vocatur. Sed potentia ad esse se tenet ex parte materie que est ens in potentia. Potentia autem ad agere se tenet ex parte forme. . . ." Ibid., fols. 84v–85r, where references to Aristotle appear on 84v.

¹⁷¹ In the sermon inc. "*Fili concupiscens sapientiam*" (see n. 166 above) which opens "In hiis verbis breviter notantur 4 que ad proficientis perfectionem per ordinem requiruntur. Primo dispositio iudicialis et primaria. . . ."

resemble Robert's *questio* on divine and human law, which he presented in a quasi-academic ceremony at the Castelnuovo in Naples before an audience of legal scholars.¹⁷² Essentially a rehearsal of Thomist philosophy, this allocution, too, emphasized Robert's intellectual virtuosity and mastery of philosophy, which he evidently considered essential to his authority as a fount of law and justice in his realm.

In short, the just king must be a philosopher: his rational powers, or "intellectual and theoretical conception," were the tools necessary to identify and implement justice.¹⁷³ He must also, of course, be virtuous: if the rendering of justice required a primary judicial disposition and an intellectual or theoretical conception, its third prerequisite was a "perfection of virtue realized in act." The moral virtues most emphasized by Robert were the mild ones: he must possess mercy and clemency as well as truth, and temper his power, as in his citation from the biblical Book of Esther, with mildness.¹⁷⁴ Ultimately, however, his powers of judgment came not from learning or virtue but from God. So Robert emphasized particularly in his sermon "for the handing down of a sentence," whose biblical theme underscored the divine link: *Let my judgment come forth from Thy presence.*" This prayer was directed to God on behalf of royal justice, Robert explained, and rightly so: as was written in Proverbs 8, "*through me kings rule and princes decree justice.*" This proverb in turn was fitting to Christ, since (to cite again the Bible) "*the Father has given all judgment to the Son.*" Such citations created an equivalence between Christ and the earthly king, to both of whom God gave the powers of judgment. Furthermore, both Christ and king were associated with wisdom: this Christ, Robert specified, was the Christ of uncreated wisdom, while the earthly king was typified in Solomon. "When praying to God, [Solomon] asked for wisdom—not absolute wisdom or theoretical wisdom, although he obtained even this . . . but rather practical wisdom, applied and related to justice, whence the people

¹⁷² Boyer, "Une théologie du droit," 650.

¹⁷³ In the sermon "*Fili concupiscens sapientiam*" (see n. 166 above), at fol. 69r: where the first requirement for the execution of justice was a primary judicial disposition, the third was "*informatio intellectualis et theorica.*"

¹⁷⁴ E.g. in the sermon inc. "*Misericordia et veritas custodiunt regem*" (see n. 166 above), where the necessary "perfection of morals," in keeping with the sermon's chosen theme, involved mercy, clemency, and truth.

feared him, seeing that the wisdom of God was in him to do judgment.”¹⁷⁵ It was this indwelling wisdom or judgment of God that made the king the *lex animata*: not that law written on the page, in the edicts of Moses or Justinian or canon law, but that superior law “innate in the mind,” and associated with the infallible judgment of the saints.¹⁷⁶ Thus he was the indispensable source of justice in his kingdom. Justice could only be served by “the effect of his presence, since he has to lead with respect to his judgment;” conversely, it was obstructed by “the defect of his absence, since without the splendor or light of his justice, they deviate from right judgment.”¹⁷⁷

If one of Robert’s main themes was the king’s possession of a sacral wisdom that gave him access to the celestial origins of justice, another was the king’s duty to manifest that justice for the benefit of his people. This principle is apparent even in his most abstract comments: virtue must be not only a *habitus*, or indwelling capacity, but an operative one, manifested in deeds; it involved not only the power to be, but the power to act.¹⁷⁸ One of the five ways justice was served, he wrote, was “in the goodwill of [the king’s] spoken word and mouth, in order that justice thus be made known and manifested.”¹⁷⁹ The very word “rex” derived from *regere* or *recte agere*, to direct or act rightly.¹⁸⁰ Thus, as Robert explained in his sermon

¹⁷⁵ Sermon inc. “*De vultu tuo iudicium meum prodeat.*” I cite the opening passage from the edition of Boyer (see n. 167 above): “Per primum principale membrum satis patet cui scilicet Deo dirigitur oratio. Per secundum, liquet huius orationis causa et ratio, quia pro regio iudicio et merito quia scribitur Prov. 8, *Per me reges regnant et legum conditores iusta decernunt.* Quod verbum potest competere sapientie increate Christo quia sicut ipse ait, *pater omne iudicium dedit filio.* Idcirco apte Salamon ipse [ms: ipsius] regis David filius sapientiam orando a Deo petit—non absolutam vel theoricam, licet et illam [ms: illud] optinuerit qua *a cedro que* [ms: quod] *est in Libano usque ad ysofum* sicut asserit 3 libro Reg. hystoria *disputavit*—sed potius praticam et iudicio applicatam et relatam. Unde et populus [ms. add.: qui] *timuit eum videns sapientiam Dei esse in illo ad iudicium faciendum.*”

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ In the sermon inc. “*Fili concupiscens sapientiam*” (cf. n. 166 above), at fol. 73v: “iustitia debet servari . . . primo ex profectu sue presentie quia habet dirigere respectu sui iudicii . . . [et] ex defectu sue absentia quia sine iustitie splendore vel lumine huius a recto iudicio deviare [*sic*].”

¹⁷⁸ In the sermon inc. “*Iustitia iusti super eum erit,*” discussed at nn. 169–70 above.

¹⁷⁹ “Iustitia debet servari . . . in favore affatus sermonis et oris ut iustitia sic publicatur et manifestetur.” In the sermon inc. “*Fili concupiscens sapientiam*” (see n. 166 above), at fol. 73v.

¹⁸⁰ “Dictum est rex a regendo dicitur: regere idem quod recte agere.” In the sermon inc. “*Misericordia et veritas custodiunt regem,*” (see n. 166 above), at fol. 65v.

for the handing down of a judicial sentence, it was proper and necessary that subjects petition him, “since it would be useless and almost worthless if there existed [only] the literal, exterior description of justice in the Codex, [and] its indwelling, interior perfection lay concealed in the mind, and the more useful discretion in judgment did not come out in considering the case, and the subsequent determination in sentencing did not conclude in the end.”¹⁸¹ The intimate links between kingship, virtue, and the common good formed the basic structure of one of his more general sermons on justice: where his first point was simply “the status of royal excellence” and his second the king’s “indwelling habit of sufficiency in virtue and morals,” his third and final point was “the consequence: the result or effect of communal or universal benefit.”¹⁸²

All told, it was a classic image: perhaps specially emphatic on the intellectual and erudite aspect of the just king, but otherwise reassuringly familiar in its outline of the divine origins and resulting communal benefit of royal justice. Some sense of how that ideal was implemented can be gleaned from the royal sermon that opens “*In the abundance of justice is highest virtue*,” unusual among Robert’s orations in its degree of contextual specificity. Its content strongly suggests that it was preached to an audience of judicial officials in the context of some procedural reform. “On account of the frequency of misdeeds, the audacity of evildoers and their contumacy, clearly judgment must abound by his act in two ways,” Robert began: “first in the acceleration of judicial cases and their full execution, secondly in the punishment of excesses, exaggerations, and the piling-up of penalties.”¹⁸³ Elaborating on this abounding judgment, Robert began,

¹⁸¹ “Secundum principale . . . est regale vel regulare medium directivum ex quo omnis humanus grex sive populus regitur presertim. . . . Circa quod est sciendum quod [ms: et] apte petit iudicium quia inutile et quasi inane foret si iustitie existeret licteralis exterius descriptio in codice; lateret habitualis interius eius perfectio in mente; et non succederet iudicialis utilius discretio in examine; et non concluderet sententialis [ed: summalis] ulterius determinatio in fine.” From the sermon inc. “*De vultu tuo*,” ed. cit. at n. 167.

¹⁸² The sermon (see. n. 166 above) opens on fol. 65r, “*Misericordia et veritas custodiunt regem et roboratur clementia thronus eius* (Prov. 20:28). In hiis verbis tria notantur. Primo conditio status excellentie regalis. . . . Secundo, perfectio habitus sufficientie virtualis vel moralis (*miseriordia, veritas, clementia*). Tertio, consecutio fructus vel profectus expedientie comunis vel universalis.”

¹⁸³ “Propter maleficiorum frequentiam, maleficiorum audaciam, et ipsorum contumaciam debet per suum actum videlicet iudicium dupliciter habundare. Primo in

not surprisingly, by insisting on its origins in the king. "It belongs to kings [and] princes to pass laws, to abolish them when necessary, to add to and subtract from them, to interpret and declare them." Although "the king is superior to the law," nevertheless he abides by it when it behooves the common good: "he is not bound to the law when it is imperfect, although he is bound to it when it is good. When a law is sufficient for [people's] direction, the prince must submit to it of his own accord; when it is insufficient, he in no way submits to it nor should he submit to it willingly."¹⁸⁴ Here Robert reiterated a traditional image of the king as both above and below the law, one espoused by John of Salisbury in the twelfth century and by Frederick II in the thirteenth, and which Robert associated with the authority of Thomas Aquinas.¹⁸⁵ The king's position as legislator was supreme within the kingdom, yet still contractual, obligated to promote the *res publica*.

It was in the second part of the sermon, where Robert addressed "the special part of the judge in lesser complaints," that he articulated how the king's will was implemented. Acknowledging that justice was often exercised through lesser officials rather than directly through "the mouth of the king," he specified their relation to both royal authority and subjects:

Since [the judge] is commanded to the common good and wellbeing of men, in such measure he obtains the might and right of law, given that if this is lacking, he has no power of enforcement. Since, therefore, the legislator cannot consider through law all cases individually, he makes propositions in accordance with those things that are suitable in many cases. Whence if a case arises in which the observation

acceleratione processus et executionis summe. Secundo in punitione excessus et exaggerationis ac cumulationis pene." In the sermon inc. "*In habundantia iustitie*" (see n. 167 above), at fol. 60r.

¹⁸⁴ "Regum enim [et] principum est leges condere, eas ex causa abolere, ad eas addere vel subtrahere easque interpretari et declarare. Est quam superior legi nec legi abstringitur quantum ad incoactivam tamen est quantum ad directivam. Quando lex est sufficiens ad dirigendum princeps debet subdi legi propria voluntate; quando autem insufficiens est, nullo [ms: neutro] modo subditur nec subdi debet et propria voluntate." Ibid., fol. 61r.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* of 1159, and Ernst Kantorowicz's analysis of Frederician judicial imagery in *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957). Robert himself followed the assertion with a citation of Aquinas: "Thomas in illa questione, ubi querit an omnes subditi subiciantur legi humane, in solutione 3 argumenti."

of such a law is harmful to public or common need—for instance regarding gates not to be opened in a city—he does not require that it be observed.¹⁸⁶

In short, laws had to be tailored to individual contexts, and in practice it was the lesser judges, familiar with those contexts, who decided what tailoring was required. This explains Robert's emphasis, in following passages, on the mutability of the law: it can change through human reason (presumably meaning, here, the legislator's informed decision), or through "our men whose acts are directed by law, since in according with changes in their situations, different things are expedient to them."¹⁸⁷

This sermon reflects several characteristics already evident in the policy of Robert's government. First, for all Robert's exaltation of the divine origins and supreme status of the king-legislator, he acknowledged that in practice the king could not personally know and oversee all the particular affairs of his realm. Hence he necessarily worked through his judicial-administrative hierarchy, delegating not only powers of execution but powers of interpretation and adaptation of the law. Secondly, the king's comments reveal an awareness of the need for flexibility and responsiveness to the particular conditions obtaining in different moments and different parts of his realm. The negotiation with and balancing of different social groups evident in his relations with towns and nobility required such flexibility, and royal officials constituted one source of information about those local conditions. Thirdly, the sermon's occasion exemplifies that concern for administrative oversight and reform evident in the king's frequent inquests and procedural modifications. Judges should be quicker in deciding cases; they should also be more lenient, avoiding the "pil-

¹⁸⁶ "Secundo [declaratur] ex speciale iudici parte a minori argutatione. Nam cum ordinetur ad bonum comune et salutem hominum in tantum obtinet vim et rationem legis secundum vero quod si [ms: ab] hoc deficit, vim obligandi non habet. Quia ergo legislator non potuit omnes singulares casus intueri propter legem, proponit secundum ea que [ms add.: ut] in pluribus accidunt. Unde si emergat casus in quo talis legis observatio sit dapnosa utilitati publice vel comuni, ut in civitate de porta non aperienda, non obligat ut servetur." In the same sermon as nn. 183–84, at fol. 61r.

¹⁸⁷ "Mutationis legis duplex potest esse causa. Una ex parte rationis quia humane rationi naturale est . . . alia ex parte nostrorum hominum quorum actus lege diriguntur, quia secundum eorum conditionum mutationes, diversa eis expediunt." Ibid., at fol. 61v.

ing up of penalties,” an order reflecting Robert’s emphasis, in sermons as in actual punishments, on mercy and clemency.

Robert’s peacemaking sermons relate closely to his municipal policy, characterized, as we have seen, by the state’s respectful observance of town autonomy and by the king’s intervention as arbiter rather than commander. The king demonstrated this approach in the paternal and conciliatory tone he adopted toward municipalities. “*Destructive men bring ruin to a city, but wise men turn away wrath,*” cited Robert in the opening of a sermon “about applying a remedy.”¹⁸⁸ A city conferring simply and generally among its members was characterized by the moderation of its numerous congregation and its sufficiency of copious perfection, Robert respectfully asserted. Still, the moral diversity of its members could lead to differences of opinion, and it was the wise man who demonstrated his effectiveness through his virtuous healing of strife.¹⁸⁹ It is possible that Robert was referring here to the wise men within the fractured community, encouraging them to leadership. Given his portrait of this wise man, however, it is more likely he was referring to himself. The wisdom he had in mind was that “of highest contemplation, or the learning that comes from studious speculation;” reiterating this point, he observed that “we can define wise men as those instructed in theology or holy scripture; worthily does the wise man reflect on [theology] personally, especially highest causes [i.e. metaphysics].”¹⁹⁰ First acknowledging the community’s self-governance, then pointing out the defects in it, Robert concluded by highlighting the beneficent intervention of a wise man like himself who healed internal strife.

¹⁸⁸ Inc. “*Homines pestilentes dissipant civitatem, sapientes vero avertunt furorem* (Prov. 29:8)”: Bibl. Ang. 150, fols. 27r–31r. A copy of this sermon in Naples, Bibl. Naz., MS VII E 2 bears the rubric “de remedio apponendo.”

¹⁸⁹ “Quinto, ut predicatur, concluditur simplex conferens comunitate, “*civitas*”: continentia numerose congregationi et sufficientia copiose perfectionis. Et quecumque (ut dictum est) civitas sic simpliciter conferens per se . . . tamen secundum moralem differentiam civium potest esse moraliter differens, unde secundo Ethic. circa principium, differentur honorum scilicet civium bonorum et malorum.” Just before this passage Robert, glossing “*turns away wrath*,” noted that the wise man’s “bonus actus . . . efficacia patebit virtuouse reparationis.” Ibid., at fol. 27r–v.

¹⁹⁰ “Tertio subiungitur bonus vel virtuosus habitus, scilicet *sapientia* altissime contemplationis vel scientia studiose speculationis”: ibid., fol. 27r. Again at fol. 29r: “Per sapientes possumus accipere [ms: accipe] theologiam seu scripturam sacram scientes et maxime ipsius professores; nec indigne ipsam maxime altissimas causas considerat sapiens in eius persona.”

Other peacemaking sermons struck similar themes of respectful friendship and paternal guidance. In a sermon “for peace and the lord’s law,” for instance, Robert stated that “we resolve for the sake of charity, which augments [good] will, amplifying friendship; we are instructed by truth, which corrects reason and intention, applying the rules [of law].”¹⁹¹

In sum, both the act of preaching and the content of his sermons emphasized Robert’s central role in the justice of his realm. If the image of just kingship he purveyed was comfortingly traditional, its particulars echoed the characteristic tendencies of his policy: flexible response to the conditions of his realm, reliance on officials to implement and tailor policy, respectful arbitration in self-governing municipalities, an overall tendency to leniency over harshness. The challenges of rulership in a declining European economy, with virtually constant external warfare and volatile relations among subjects, and especially for a conquering dynasty only recently implanted in its territories, required a vigilant and negotiatory approach—one Robert expressed not only in his policy, but in his efforts to persuade subjects, through his sermons, of the utility and advantages of royal justice itself. This notion was publicized perhaps most broadly through his coinage, which bore the motto *Honor regis iudicium diligit*—the honor of the king delights in judgment.¹⁹²

The Limits of Royal Publicity

Given the general scrupulousness of Robert’s government and the king’s own assiduous efforts to promote his image as just, it is surprising to find rather scant emphasis on Robert’s justice among his publicists and supporters. Bartolomeo da Capua, Robert’s protonotary and logothete, made it the central theme of one of his sermons,

¹⁹¹ “Inducimus respectu caritatis que voluntatem amplificat, amicitia amplificando. . . . Instruimur ratione veritatis que intentionem vel rationem rectificat ad regulam applicando, scilicet *legem tuam*.” In the sermon inc. “*Pax multa diligentibus legem tuam*”: Bibl. Ang. 150, fols. 112v–113v.

¹⁹² This motto first appeared on the silver coins of Charles II, known as “carlini”. It was used as well on the silver coins of Robert, minted in large numbers in Naples, which then became known as “robertini”. See “Le Gillat ou Carlin de Naples-Provence: Le rayonnement de son type monétaire,” in *Catalogue de l’Exposition Centenaire de la Société française de numismatique, 1865–1965* (Paris, 1965), 44–51.

and with the same emphasis on mercy evident in Robert's own self-conception. To celebrate Robert's return in 1324 after a five-year absence in Provence, Bartolomeo preached to the people of Naples on the biblical theme from Matthew 21:5, *Behold, your king comes to you, meek*. His gloss on each of the phrase's constituent parts reaffirmed Robert's mercy and justice. "This king *comes to you* for your governance, whence it can appropriately be said of him what . . . is read in Esther 13 [:2], *I have not wished in any way to abuse the magnitude of my power, but to govern my subjects with clemency and mildness*. For he, ruling through clemency and mildness, is described as *meek*." Turning then to the meaning of meekness or mercy (*mansuetudo*), Bartolomeo explained that "this mercy, inasmuch as it is the moderator of anger . . ., pertains to the just man and goes together with wrath, removing with it an impediment to justice." To further underline this pairing of mercy and justice, Bartolomeo closed his sermon with a variation of its opening theme, taken from Zachariah 9: "*Rejoice greatly, o daughter of Zion, that is, the community of this realm; behold, your king comes to you, just*."¹⁹³

The king's justice was also praised by Remigio de' Girolami, great Florentine supporter of the Angevins, who preached several sermons in Robert's honor during the king's visit to Florence in the autumn of 1310.¹⁹⁴ Addressing the republic's natural fear of royal "tyranny," Remigio opened one sermon by noting that, "according to Aristotle, a tyrant is the degeneration of a king. But our lord who is here is not degenerate, but rather a legitimate and true king," who possessed those qualities related to justice: clemency, equity, and concern for the common good.¹⁹⁵ Glossing the theme *I have been established*

¹⁹³ "*Venit etiam tibi idem rex ad tuam gubernationem, unde competenter et congrue dici potest quod . . . legitur Exter XIII: Volui nequaquam abuti potentie magnitudine, sed clementia et lenitate gubernare subiectos*. Per clementiam namque et lenitatem presidens describitur mansuetus. . . . Hec mansuetudo, in quantum est moderatrix ire . . . pertinet ad iustum et concurrerit cum ira, ea removens inpedimentum a iustitia. . . . Unde convenienter dicitur quod legitur Zach. IX [:9], *Exulta satis filia Ierusalem, hoc est universitas huius regni, ecce rex tuus, venit tibi iustus*." Edited in Jean-Paul Boyer, "Parler du roi et pour le roi. Deux sermons de Barthélemy de Capoue, logothète du royaume de Sicile," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 79 (1995), 245–47.

¹⁹⁴ For the dating of Remigio's sermons on Robert, see E. Panella, "Nuova cronologia remigiana," *AFP* 60 (1990), 262–63.

¹⁹⁵ "Circa primum notatur quod secundum Philosophum tyrannus est degeneratio regis. Dominus autem noster qui hic est non est degener, sed legiptimus et verus rex. . . . Ratione pietatis in corde . . . unde Seneca in libro De clementia ad Neronem:

king by Him on Zion, his holy mount, preaching his precepts (Psalm 2:6), Remigio again highlighted Robert's twinned clemency and justice. The word *mount* denoted Robert's clemency, for it derived from *munio*, "I defend," and such defense was undertaken through clemency. As for the word *holy*, which Remigio associated with cleanliness, Robert was so by reason of his cleansing justice. "On this, Proverbs 20 (:8), *a king that sits in the throne of judgment scatters away all evil*, that is, from himself and from his subjects. Luke (1:75), *in holiness and justice*."¹⁹⁶

Though the Florentines to whom Remigio preached in 1310 were not *strictu sensu* Angevin subjects, they were certainly deeply affected by the Angevins' strong influence in central Italy. Thus Remigio, who found such influence beneficial, spoke of Robert as if he were their king, and emphasized those royal characteristics most significant to subjects: justice, mercy, concern for the common good. A review of Remigio's other sermons, however, reveals that these virtues were associated with all Angevin princes. When Philip of Taranto served as the Florentines' captain of war in 1315, Remigio emphasized his equitable justice and preservation of peace; to honor Robert's elder brother Charles Martel he chose the theme from Psalms 84:11, *justice and peace have kissed each other*.¹⁹⁷ There is, therefore, something generic and perfunctory in Remigio's praise of Robert's justice: a virtue sure to appeal to his Florentine audience, but not specially characteristic of Robert himself. Compared to the frequent praise of Robert's piety and holy lineage, and even more, as we shall see, of his wisdom, supporters' emphasis on his justice is curiously scant.

Differit tyrannus a rege quia rex clemens, tyrannus crudelis. . . . [Et] ratione equitatis in opere. Tyrannus enim iniquus et iniustus est, secundum Philosophum, sed verus rex iustus est. Iuxta illud Prov. 29, *rex iustus erigit terram*, non destruit nec prosternit sicut tyrannus. Unde Seneca ubi sequitur: tyrannus voluptate servit [ms: sevit], rex autem necessitate publice utilitatis." Florence, Bibl. Naz., MS G 4 936, fol. 352r-v, at fol. 352r. Cf. a discussion of this sermon in Jean-Paul Boyer, "Florence et l'idée monarchique. La prédication de Remigio dei Girolami sur les Angevins de Naples," in *La Toscane e les Toscans autour de la Renaissance* (Aix-en-Provence, 1999), 366-67.

¹⁹⁶ "Super *montem* vero ratione roborative clementie, ut sic 'mons' dicatur a 'munio', munitiones enim et fortalitie in montibus construuntur maxime, ut sic conveniat ei quod dicitur Heb. 5 . . . et Ysa. 19 . . . ut sic dicatur Robertus, qui 'robur tenens' scilicet in se, vel 'robur tundens' scilicet adversorium. Quidem qualis est per clementiam. . . . Sed super *sanctum*, id est mundum, ratione mundative iustitie. Iuxta illud Prov. 20, *rex qui sedet in solio iudicii dissipat omne malum*, scilicet a se et a subditis; Luc. 1 [ms: 2], *in sancitate et iustitia*." From the sermon inc. "*Ego constitutus sum rex* . . . (Ps. 2:6)," MS cit. (see previous note), fol. 351r-v, at 351v.

¹⁹⁷ Boyer, "Florence et l'idée monarchique," 367-69.

Indeed, a review of other observers' comments suggests that justice was associated as much or more with Robert's son and vicar, Charles of Calabria, as with the king himself. Giovanni Regina, one of king Robert's most active court preachers, emphasized this identification when eulogizing Charles in 1328. "It should be known what is written in the Psalm (10:8), *The just Lord loves justice*, from which it can be concluded that a just lord is loved by God. Such a lord was lord [Charles], since he loved justice and served all indifferently, both personally and through his court [sc. the Vicarial tribunal], as is widely known. On account of which he was reverently loved by God and by men who love God: singularly by this city, as it shows in its mourning for his death; specially moreover by the whole realm."¹⁹⁸ The duke's tomb further underscored Charles' identification with justice (Plate 5). The front panel of his sarcophagus, which depicted Charles in the act of rendering judgment, was eloquent enough to merit notice in the early-seventeenth-century history of Naples by Giovanni Antonio Summonte: "in memory of [Charles'] justice he was sculpted seated in majesty, as one can still see today, with a bowl at his feet from which a lamb and wolf are drinking . . . denoting how he maintained his vassals in peace."¹⁹⁹

Contemporary chronicles made the association even more strongly. The mid-fourteenth-century *Cronaca di Partenope*, written by the Neapolitan patrician Bartolomeo Brancaccio, observed that Charles "was the most just prince that ever was in the realm."²⁰⁰ A continuation of the chronicle written in the early 1380s dilated on this

¹⁹⁸ "Est sciendum quod in Ps. [10:8] dicitur, *Iustus dominus et iustitiam dilexit*, ex quo concludi potest quod dominus iustus est a Deo dilectus. Talis fuit dominus N., quia iustitiam dilexit et servavit omnibus indifferenter, et quantum ad personam suam et quantum ad curiam suam, ut notorium est, propter quod revera fuit dilectus a Deo et ab hominibus diligentibus Deum: singulariter quidem a civitate ista, sicut ostendit in luctu facto de morte suo, specialiter autem a toto regno, et generaliter a tota ecclesia." In the sermon inc. "*In caritate perpetua dilexi te*": Naples, Bibl. Naz., MS VIII AA 11, at fol. 25r.

¹⁹⁹ Giovanni Antonio Summonte, *Historia della città e del Regno di Napoli*, 4 vols. (Naples, 1601), 2: 291. See also the description of the tomb by W.R. Valentiner, *Tino di Camaino. A Siennese Sculptor of the Fourteenth Century* (Paris, 1935), 122.

²⁰⁰ *Cronaca di Partenope*, ed. Antonio Altamura (Naples, 1974), 133. Bartolomeo's contribution to the chronicle (Part II of the modern edition) also goes under the name "Brevi informazioni," and was written between 1347 and 1350. Bartolomeo was a trusted officer of Robert's government—justiciar of two provinces, treasurer in the royal treasury, and an executor of Charles of Calabria's will. See Altamura's introduction, 37–38.

theme. Devoting one chapter to “how king Robert appointed the aforesaid duke Charles as his vicar general, and how Charles was minister of justice,” it continued: “since king Robert knew the true virtue and integrity of his most illustrious firstborn son, duke Charles, along with the true justice that he loved, he made him vicar general of the realm of Sicily, where he administered infinite justice so singularly that his father was delighted. And not only did he administer justice to rational men, but even to animals.” The chronicler then recounted the kind of tale that becomes the stuff of popular legend: how Charles, upon seeing an old horse abandoned by its owner after long years of loyal service, gave justice to the horse and passed sentence on its owner.²⁰¹

The chronicler known as the Roman Anonymous drew a more complex double portrait of the king and his vicar. “There was something avaricious in the way King Robert spent his money,” observed the chronicler, “and what is more, he converted personal [i.e. corporal] penalties into fines. This king had a son who was the duke of Calabria. He was a very judicious man and said, ‘King Charles our great-grandfather acquired and maintained this realm through military prowess, my grandfather through generosity, my father through wisdom. Therefore I want to maintain it through justice.’ Strenuously did the duke strive to serve highest justice.”²⁰² This group portrait of the early Angevins, in which each was identified specially with one virtue, became something of a topos: Petrarch cited it too, and its identification of Charles as “the just.”²⁰³ As for our chronicler, having established a character portrait of king and son, he then recounted a tale that exemplified the prevalent quality of each. A baron convicted of murder was sentenced to death until Robert commuted the sentence into the enormous fine of 15,000 ounces. When Charles learned of this, however, he was outraged, and personally

²⁰¹ Ibid., 135–6, and 46–47 for the dating of this final section of the chronicle, which was “widely known” (like the rest of the chronicle) in the early fifteenth century, date of its first printed edition.

²⁰² “Alcuna cosa avaro voleva vedere [Roberto] como soa moneta despenneva. E che più, le pene perzonale convertiva in pecuniarie. Abbe questo re un sio figlio lo quale fu duca de Calavria. Fu omo moito iustiziale e . . . forte se studiava lo duca de servare somma iustizia.” *Anonimo Romano. Cronica*, ed. G. Porta (Milan, 1979), 62.

²⁰³ Petrarch’s identical quadruple portrait appears in *Rer. Sen.* X, 4. See Francis Petrarch, *Letters of Old Age. Rerum Senilium Libri I–XVIII*, trans. Aldo Bernardo et al., 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1992), 2: 389.

replaced the shackles on the baron's limbs. "When Robert heard this, understanding the wishes of his son, he agreed to justice against his will," continued the chronicler. The king's avarice, in short, made him unjust, in contrast to the strict and pure justice of his son. In the end, however, the double portrait was ambivalent: though acceding to his son's wishes, the king nevertheless reminded him "that when justice is too great and finds no remission, it becomes the worst cruelty."²⁰⁴

All told, the wider perception of Robert's justice was ambivalent in two ways. His state was just—his son and vicar exemplified it fully—and yet the king himself not especially so; he was avaricious, and that compromised his justice, but he was also merciful in way not wholly to be condemned. What this ambivalence suggests is not Robert's *mala signoria*—the Roman Anonymous himself claimed that Robert "maintained his realm in such peace that townsmen neither carried nor knew weapons"—but discomfort with his methods. That Robert was "avaricious" (we might say fiscally cautious) is well attested. His northern-Italian critics condemned it, for it deprived them of the military funds they expected of him as Guelf leader.²⁰⁵ His internal policies demonstrated it as well. He changed the penalty for non-fulfilment of military service from seizure of the vassal's fief into a fine; fines were much more common than corporal punishment, too, in the realm's courts.²⁰⁶ How much income these fines brought in is not at all clear, but Robert's preference for them indicates his sensitivity to the crown's financial needs, regarding which he was quite vigilant. Despite declining prices from the 1300s to the 1330s, crown income regularly exceeded expenses by some 10,000 ounces gold a year.²⁰⁷ Thus contemporaries were not altogether wrong in speaking

²⁰⁴ This tale, recounted in *Anonimo Romano* at 62–63, concludes with Robert's capitulation—"Quanno lo patre senti questo, conoscenno la voluntate dello figlio, condescese alla iustizia contra soa voluntate"—and with Robert's warning to his son: "ché lla troppo granne iustizia, dove non se trova remissione, ène pessima crudelitate."

²⁰⁵ Among Tuscans who highlighted Robert's avarice were Dante, who called him "a mean nature descended from a generous" in the *Paradiso*, canto VIII, and Giovanni Villani, who considered avarice a weakness of the king's old age: see his *Cronica*, at Book 11, chapter 10.

²⁰⁶ On the first measure, regularized in Robert's capitulary "Nolumus," see Moscati, "Ricerche e documenti," 9–12. On the prevalence of fines over corporal punishment, note the figures cited for Marseille by Smail, "La justice comtale à Marseille."

²⁰⁷ For a reflection on income from judicial fines under Charles I and Charles II

of the wealth Robert “hoarded” in his Brown Tower, where the royal treasury was located.²⁰⁸ Nor is it at all unlikely (though hard figures lack) that Robert increased taxes, as the *Cronaca di Partenope* claimed.²⁰⁹ Acceptance of payment in lieu of military service, imposition of fines in place of alternate punishments, and augmentation of taxes were far from unusual for the age, but neither were they the sort of measures likely to attract particular praise.

That Robert delegated much government oversight to officials, even at the highest levels, is also clear, and may go some way toward explaining his diminished personal association with just governance. Scholars have long recognized the pivotal role played by Bartolomeo da Capua in the realm’s affairs. As highest official in the realm, he oversaw virtually all government activity, and personally guided and advised other functionaries through speeches that exhorted them to honesty and commitment to office, outlining “the exemplary image of an official whose duty was to safeguard justice.”²¹⁰ As a legal scholar and glossator of the Constitutions of Melfi, he was the most influential interpreter of the realm’s law, and is widely credited with initiating most of the state’s legislation. All told, until his death in 1328 he “represented the fulcrum of all legislative activity of the new [Angevin] lords, and the guiding intelligence of their political action.”²¹¹

and the difficulty of assessing figures for it, see Jean-Marie Martin, “Les revenus de justice de la première maison d’Anjou,” in *La justice temporelle dans les territoires angevins*, forthcoming. G.M. Monti notes the decline in prices (by some 25%, to judge by his examples) between 1306 and 1337, as well as the crown’s surplus of 10,000 ounces a year between 1332 and 1342. See his “Da Carlo I a Roberto d’Angiò,” *ASPN* n.s. 19 (1933), 80, 96–97. A surplus is also noted for the year 1325–26 in a government document cited by Minieri-Riccio, “Genealogia,” *ASPN* 7 (1882), 496. Here income is mentioned as roughly 70,500 ounces, expenses as 69,000. The first figure, however, excludes income from the royal demesne, crown mercantile enterprises, and the *adoa*, as G.M. Monti explains, art. cit., 77–79.

²⁰⁸ See Chapter Six, at nn. 109, 112 for two such comments.

²⁰⁹ Among such deeds as Robert’s promotion of piety and ennoblement of the realm, the chronicler notes without comment that the king “aumentao le rendite e gabelle de lo Riame”: *Cronaca di Partenope*, 132. The very scant figures available suggest an increase in revenue the mid-1330s (to as much as 75,000 ounces for 7 months, or over 128,000 for the year, in 1338, excluding demesne income and the *adoa*), followed by a decline to previous levels (circa 60,000–70,000) in the last years of the reign. See the figures cited in Monti, “Da Carlo I a Roberto d’Angiò,” *ASPN*, n.s., 19 (1933), 79.

²¹⁰ Lorenz Enderlein, *Die Grablagen des Hauses Anjou in Unteritalien. Totenkult und Monumente 1266–1343* (Worms am Rhein, 1997), 57–59.

²¹¹ Romualdo Trifone, “Il pensiero giuridico e l’opera legislativa di Bartolomeo di Capua in rapporto al diritto romano e alla scienza romanistica,” in *Scritti in onore*

Less noted but certainly considerable was the role played by Charles of Calabria. As vicar general of the realm, he was head of the Vicarial Tribunal, and hence a second pole of justice in the realm. During his father's long absence from the realm from 1318 to 1324, Charles was the principal resident symbol of the state, and began to publish legislation under his own name; further, even after Robert's return to the kingdom edicts continued to be attributed to him.²¹² It was his manner as much as his official responsibility that seems to have impressed subjects: according to the *Cronaca di Partenope* he placed a bell outside the royal castle "that could be rung by anyone, and at the sound he gave audience and rendered justice to the person who appeared."²¹³ Again, there was nothing very unusual in conferring considerable responsibilities on the heir apparent, nor in taking advantage of talented officials. Robert had the good fortune to inherit a highly articulated administrative apparatus, and the good sense to exploit it. But as with his fiscal husbandry, it was an approach that deviated from the traditional and beloved image of personal, charismatic kingship, of a Saint Louis who sat under a tree welcoming all petitioners, or a duke Charles who set out a bell for even the humblest subjects to ring and who "dispensed justice personally to all." With hindsight we might view Robert's fiscal conservatism and more bureaucratic approach to governance as appropriate and effective responses to his times, but this was not necessarily a comfort to contemporaries for whom those times were themselves troubling and uncertain.

A similar perplexity about what constituted proper and effective governance may underlie the ambivalence of scholarly opinion as well. To some, as we have seen, the basis of Angevin strength was the towns, to others the nobility; Robert's economic interventions have been called the only stimulus to commercial life in the kingdom, and a stranglehold that "paralyzed" development.²¹⁴ Overall

di A. Maiorana (Catania, 1913), 13–19; idem, *La legislazione angioina*, xx–xxiv, which provides the quotation.

²¹² Between 1318 and the duke's death in 1328, over 40% of the royal legislation published by Trifone in *La legislazione angioina* (which excludes commercial laws) was issued in Charles' name.

²¹³ "La iustizia da isso [sc. Charles] era intesa in modo che fe' una campana fuori lo castello, che se potea toccare da ogni persona, et al sono donava audienza e satisfaceva la iustizia di chi pateva." *Cronaca di Partenope*, 136.

²¹⁴ Yver, *Le commerce*, 96; Trifone, *La legislazione angioina*, 257.

judgments of Robert's internal governance are discordant as well. Émile Léonard finds that "the good will of [the king's] declarations and their sincerity are confirmed by the abundance and precision of king Robert's legislation."²¹⁵ To Romolo Caggese, by contrast, "the actions of the crown were weak, uncertain, and inequitable. . . . the State was a man not equal to the task and a set of incapable or corrupt functionaries, a genuine expression of a country both morally backward and constitutionally poor."²¹⁶ The prescriptive quality of such judgments reflects, perhaps, the search for causes of a once-exemplary kingdom's decline. In that regard it is worth noting the continuities that link early Angevin rule with Staufen precedent and succeeding Aragonese rule. Frederick II's law code, his administrative apparatus, his establishment of virtually annual direct taxation, and his *dirigiste* approach to the realm's economy were all perpetuated by Robert and his Angevin predecessors; the professionalization of royal officials, which appears as the chief "modern" innovation of the fifteenth-century Aragonese, was already well underway by Robert's time, and indeed the administrative hierarchy itself remained little changed from early Angevin times.²¹⁷ Nor were those classic problems hampering Angevin rule eradicated by their Aragonese successors: lack of domestic manufacturing, the corruption of state

²¹⁵ Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*, 273.

²¹⁶ The quotation combines two characteristic comments of Caggese, found in *Roberto d'Angiò*, 1: 235, 329.

²¹⁷ Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples*, 118, crediting Alfonso with creating "a distinct tribunal" within ten years of his accession, and generally "entrusting certain categories of council business to specialized bodies, salaried and chosen by the ruler." The efforts that Frederick II made in this direction already in the thirteenth century, not least through the foundation of the Neapolitan *studium* to train officials, are noted by Abulafia, *Frederick II*, 210, and G. Vitolo singles out the successful development of this strategy as a characteristic of early Angevin rule (see above, n. 58). As Federico Chabod noted many decades ago, if the strength of sixteenth-century governments rested on "the reinforcement and extension . . . of public functionaries, of royal officers or, in modern terms, the bureaucracy, it was certainly not the Renaissance state that 'invented' royal 'officers.'" Sixteenth-century absolutism, for Chabod, was therefore but the more permanent establishment of strategies realized "temporarily, discontinuously," in earlier centuries. See Chabod's 1958 essay "Y a-t-il un État de la Renaissance?" in *Actes du colloque sur la Renaissance. Paris, 30 juin-1 juillet 1956* (Paris, 1958). Its relevance to Angevin rule has been noted by Giuliana Vitale, "Nobiltà napoletana dell'età durazzesca," in *La noblesse dans les territoires angevins*, ed. Noël Coulet and Jean-Michel Matz (Rome, 2000), 368n. The notable continuity between Angevin and Aragonese administrative offices and duties, evident throughout Ryder's chapter "Power in the Provinces," is noted explicitly on p. 316.

officials, a power-hungry aristocracy and widespread brigandage were issues that even a ruler credited with the creation of a modern state could not overcome.²¹⁸ Nor were they unique to Angevin territories. As Georges Yver has observed, "France, England, and Germany enjoyed neither a better administrative system in the fourteenth century, nor a more equitable financial system, nor a more thorough security."²¹⁹

If we take into account the characteristic limitations of fourteenth-century states and the more acute financial and social challenges of the "age of adversity," Émile Léonard's portrait of Robert's essentially scrupulous and effective government appears more apt than the bleak characterization of Romolo Caggese, conditioned by stereotypes about southern "backwardness." But an analysis framed in terms of "good" versus "bad" rule will, in any case, take us only so far in understanding the particular nature of governance in this age. There was an identifiable style to Robert's internal rule that related to the financial pressures and social volatility of the times, as well as to the materials of state that were at his disposal. Overall we might characterize that style as one of negotiation and balance. Permitting and respecting municipal autonomy, Robert cast the crown as the towns' beneficent arbiter; favoring a noble class with lighter service and the added authority of royal office, he also monitored their activity closely and balanced lesser and greater landholders. Appointment to positions in the royal administration was one key vehicle for balancing different social groups, and facilitated that dependence on government service that made the crown the center of subjects' ambitions. Through oversight and reform as vigilant as could be reasonably expected, the administration made itself flexible to changing circumstance and presented itself as responsive to subjects' needs and complaints, such that even heavier financial exactions and constant war did not result in significant protest. And if the king's greater reliance on royal officials to generate, tailor, and implement royal directives muted somewhat his personal reputation

²¹⁸ Among numerous references to such problems in Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples*, see for instance pages 87, 158, 163, 173 (corruption of officials), 100 (slowness of courts), 164 (noble oppression and resistance to state power), 161 (banditry, against which Alfonso revives prescriptions of Charles I), 352 (continued lack of manufacturing in kingdom).

²¹⁹ Yver, *Le commerce*, 75.

for just rule, his frequent sermons on justice, mercy, and peace tempered the more distant and “managerial” aspect of his rule, and signalled in themselves that quality of persuasion and negotiation that characterized his ruling policy generally.

The reign of Robert’s successor, Joanna I, illustrates the delicacy of the balance Robert struck, and how dependent it was on the skilful management of volatile energies. With less royal oversight of feudal affairs, the kingdom’s nobility succeeded in consolidating territory, avoiding military service, and appropriating privileges and powers once reserved to the crown; with less royal respect for municipal self-government and arbitration of its factional tendencies, towns became ever more diffident of crown authority and destroyed themselves with internal strife.²²⁰ The political missteps of the crown itself opened the door to centrifugal tendencies among towns and nobility alike: the assassination of the queen’s consort, and the evident weakness and division at the highest levels of the monarchy, were the catalyst not only for a deeply destructive invasion by the king of Hungary and machinations within the royal family for control of the crown, but for fighting among subjects who used partisanship for one or another pretendant as a pretext to pursue their own internal rivalries.²²¹ As Giovanni Vitolo has observed, the weakness of the crown under Joanna I was not the result of a deficient administration—the Angevins’ had already proved itself “capable of controlling both the independent tendencies of the towns and the transforming nature of the feudal hierarchy”—but rather the consequence of a crown lacking political direction, and no longer able to maintain that careful orchestration of forces crucial to a volatile age.²²²

²²⁰ On the decline of crown oversight of the nobility and the buildup of feudal power in the provinces, see Vitale, “Nobiltà napoletana della prima età angioina,” 546, and (exemplifying the phenomenon in one region) Visceglia, *Territorio*, 172–73. On the disintegration of Angevin municipal policy after 1350, see Calasso, *La legislazione statutaria*, 199–207.

²²¹ See Musi, “Principato citra,” 250, for an example of how the Angevin policy of setting factions against one another (rather than against the state) backfired without strong royal oversight and arbitration. The destructiveness of the Hungarian invasion of the later 1340s is noted in many of the regional histories in the series *Storia del Mezzogiorno*; see, e.g., Colapietra, “Abruzzo citeriore,” 34, and Giura-Longo, “Basilicata,” 338.

²²² Vitolo, “Il regno angioino,” 58.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRUDENCE

Robert was deeply involved in the politics of northern Italy, and negotiating among the region's various powers was one of his greatest challenges. The rivalry between papacy and Empire for control of the peninsula and the related (if often more locally-inspired) rivalries between Guelf and Ghibelline factions remained the overarching framework of Italian politics, in which Robert inherited the traditional Angevin role of papal and Guelf champion. This drew him into several large-scale conflicts with the Holy Roman Emperors, who not only vied with him for influence over the northern Italian city-states but claimed overlordship of Robert's southern kingdom as well. At the same time, Robert had to negotiate relations with individual Italian city-states, where local political, commercial, and military interests complicated the larger question of papal or imperial allegiance. Robert's role as papal representative in Ferrara, for instance, complicated his relations with Venice, long dominated by tense negotiations over trade and naval security. In northwest Italy his dominion over Piedmont shrank and expanded in relation to the strength of local rivals, and his hold over Genoa, whose naval power served him usefully against Sicily, had to be continually renegotiated. Extensive banking, trading, and military ties between Florence and the Regno made the two powers mutually dependent, but also brought tensions over the extent of Angevin aid to and dominion over the city. Conditioning all Robert's involvements on the peninsula was his ceaseless effort to recapture the island of Sicily, which had rebelled from Angevin dominion in 1282 and was now ruled by the Aragonese prince Frederick. Meanwhile, Robert maintained a secondary involvement in his brothers' territorial holdings in Albania and Greece, where questions of a larger Mediterranean balance of power, particularly regarding expanding Aragonese influence, affected the king's primary interests on Sicily and the peninsula.

The complexities of this situation were reflected in Angevin strategy. On the one hand, Robert and his supporters adopted the propapal, anti-imperial rhetoric that was traditional to the Angevins and that their allies expected of them. This rhetoric had distinct

advantages, especially in the early 1310s and late 1320s when the empire posed a real threat to Robert's rule. Indeed, his conflicts with the empire concluded so successfully for Robert that some admirers urged him to go further and become the king of a united Italian nation. In fact, however, Robert showed no interest in forging a united Italian national monarchy, and even his Guelf rhetoric was often belied by policies that diverged markedly from it.

Not surprisingly, such deviations from his expected role provoked a good deal of hostility and criticism among Guelf powers. Modern scholars have been more sympathetic to the enormous financial burden Robert faced in pursuing political objectives on so many fronts, but they too have found it difficult to escape from the interpretive frameworks of Guelf-Ghibelline partisanship and national unification that dominated contemporaries' minds. They have therefore tended to characterize his politics as directionless, ineffectual, or at best a near miss. Yet what is most significant and novel about Robert's politics is precisely his deviation from expected roles. Adopting a policy that was tailored to changing circumstance and unfettered by ideological affiliation, geared toward maximal influence at minimal cost, and better served by diplomacy and tactical delay than by military conquest, Robert exemplified a kind of political strategy that, however unfamiliar or unpleasant to some contemporaries, would be widely embraced in Italy and beyond in following centuries. The skepticism of contemporaries is understandable, for Robert's best interests were not always theirs, and however threadbare Guelf-Ghibelline ideology had become by the fourteenth century, however impractical the dream of pan-Italian unity had proven, traditional conceptions died hard. Thus Robert's relations with the Italian city-states, in particular, are a chronicle of the varying personae he adopted to cast his policies in a positive light. But in some of his diplomatic speeches, and in addressing his own advisors, he laid aside these personae and identified the core principle of his politics: prudence.

Imperial Policy: Rhetoric and Practice

Among the first and greatest political crises of Robert's reign was the Italian campaign of emperor Henry VII from 1310 to 1313.¹

¹ The events and political-juridical issues of Henry's campaign are discussed in

After the death of Frederick II and the destruction of his “viper brood,” the papacy had been careful to prevent the rise of another powerful emperor; thus neither Charles I, once installed in the Regno, nor Charles II had had to confront any concrete threat of imperial overlordship. In the year of Robert’s coronation, however, the Luxemburg prince Henry was elected King of the Romans, with the support of Pope Clement V. Henry duly made plans for his imperial coronation in Rome, and was welcomed in many Italian cities by elated crowds heralding, as did Dante, the dawn of a new peace and unity under Henry’s imperial aegis. But on his arrival in Rome in 1312, Henry found his way blocked by an Angevin army under the captainship of Robert’s brother, John. After some bloody and inconclusive skirmishes, Henry, unable to reach St. Peter’s, had to content himself with a coronation in the Lateran on June 29.

Though the pope had supported Henry’s coronation up to his arrival in Rome, he now became sympathetic to Robert’s fears of an imperial invasion. He therefore instructed Henry to guarantee no imperial forces would enter the Regno, and ordered a truce between the two rulers. But Henry, outraged by Robert’s actions and the spoiling of his triumphal coronation, formally accused the king of treason in September, and summoned him to appear for trial within three months. Henry had by now withdrawn to Pisa, and when Robert failed to appear Henry condemned him as a rebel vassal, on 26 April 1313.

This confrontation raised afresh the classic juridical question of the relative rights and powers of king and emperor. Henry’s position was that the emperor, being the universal *princeps*, was the lord of all other kings; Robert was thus his vassal, and his resistance to Henry in Rome constituted an act of lese majesty. The Angevin position, naturally, was somewhat different. Its basic principles had been articulated already under Charles I, in Marino da Caramanico’s gloss on the Constitutions of Melfi, the law code of Frederick II that, under the name *Constitutiones Regni*, remained in use under the

detail in William Bowsky, *Henry VII in Italy* (Lincoln, NB, 1960; repr. Westport, CT, 1974) and in Kenneth Pennington, “Henry VII and Robert of Naples,” in *Das Publikum politischer Theorie im 14. Jahrhundert*, ed. Jürgen Miethke (Munich, 1992), 82–83 (reprinted as Chapter Five of his *The Prince and the Law 1200–1600: Sovereignty and Rights in the Western Legal Tradition* [Berkeley, 1993]). See also the recent discussion by David Abulafia, *The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms 1200–1500: The Struggle for Dominion* (London and New York, 1997), 133–144.

Angevins.² Those principles were confirmed in the later gloss of Andrea d'Isernia, produced in the first years of Robert's reign, and in a more strident form in the juridical writings of Robert's proto-notary-logothete, Bartolomeo da Capua.³ These jurists (unlike, for instance, those of France) all worked in close concert with the royal government, and unanimously supported a legal position in keeping with Robert's practical interests.⁴ This position became the core of Robert's anti-imperial rhetoric.

First of all (claimed these jurists), the King of Sicily was a free king, subject to no other; he possessed the fullness of royal power and, indeed, "imperial jurisdiction"—that is, all the rights and powers within his realm that the emperors had possessed in Rome.⁵ These were claims that the Norman kings of Sicily had put forth already in the twelfth century, and Frederick II, too, though also emperor, had been careful to distinguish his distinct rights and powers as

² Francesco Calasso, *I glossatori e la teoria della sovranità*, 2nd ed. (Milan, 1951), 140–149, and Pennington, *The Prince and the Law*, 103–105. The *Proemium* to Marino's gloss has been edited by Calasso, *I glossatori*, 179–205. The most recent edition of the gloss itself is that of A. Cervoni: *Constitutionum regni Siciliarum libri III*, vol. 1 (Naples, 1773), in which the text of the Constitutions of Melfi runs along the top of each page, with Marino's *glossa ordinaria* beneath it.

³ Andrea d'Isernia's gloss on the *Constitutiones*, written between 1309 and 1316, also appears in the edition of A. Cervoni (see previous note), beneath the gloss of Marino. On Bartolomeo's juridical statements regarding the empire, see Gennaro Maria Monti, "La dottrina anti-imperiale degli Angioini di Napoli: I loro vicariati imperiali e Bartolomeo di Capua," in *Studi in onore di Arrigo Solmi*, vol. 2 (Milan, 1940), 5–54.

⁴ Marino da Caramanico's practical orientation and regular reference to "the decisions of the judges of the Magna curia regis" is noted by Calasso, *I glossatori*, 159. Similarly, Bartolomeo da Capua argued that the legislator must precede the jurist, i.e. that concrete cases (such as he dealt with daily as Robert's protonotary and logothete) must form the basis of general expression: see Romualdo Trifone, "Il pensiero giuridico e l'opera legislativa di Bartolomeo di Capua," in *Scritti in onore di A. Maiorana* (Catania, 1913), 19.

⁵ Marino da Caramanico: "In rege libero, qui scilicet nullius alterius potestati subiectus est, dicimus ut rex ipse possit condere legem . . . , qualis est rex Sicilie;" "in rege Sicilie coaptamus, ut sic ad ipsum omnia in regno pertineant que ad Imperatorem Rome quomodolibet pertinerent." From his *Proemium*, in the edition of Calasso, *I glossatori*, 180, 199. Andrea d'Isernia: "Ut scilicet equiparitur rex in regno suo imperatori in imperio suo, putamus verum esse. . . . Idem dicimus de omni rege libero ab impero, sicut est regnum Sicilie . . . rex regni sui monarcha est." From his *Proemium*, in the edition of A. Cervoni, xxvi. Bartolomeo da Capua: "Rex Siciliae in regno suo est monarcha et habet omnia iura ad imperatorem spectantia; quia est exemptus ab impero, cui non est subiectus." From his *Glossa Aurea*, cited in Monti, "La dottrina," 26n.

King of Sicily.⁶ But Marino and his successors went further, asserting that the empire's claims to universal jurisdiction were themselves false. The empire's territory having shrunk considerably since ancient times, the emperor was, *de facto*, no longer lord of other rulers. Nor indeed could it be said that he had jurisdiction over them *de iure*. The Roman empire had never had such rightful jurisdiction, for from its beginnings it had dominated other lords only by dint of force. Its territorial shrinkage therefore merely returned the world to an earlier, more pristine condition characterized by a multiplicity of kingdoms.⁷ Finally, if the empire's illegitimate origins and present powerlessness were not proof enough against its claims, there was the fact that the empire had already surrendered its rights and powers to the papacy: since the Donation of Constantine, universal jurisdiction belonged not to the emperors but to the popes.⁸

Robert echoed and elaborated on his jurists' stance in three letters written over the course of the crisis.⁹ In the first, addressed to the pope in August 1312, Robert simply justified his military resistance to Henry VII as a necessary precaution. The second, written shortly after April 1313, followed this up with juridical arguments against Henry's recent deposition of Robert and the universal claims

⁶ Calasso, *I glossatori*, 130–132; Monti, “La dottrina,” 8.

⁷ Marino di Caramanico, *Proemium*, ed. Calasso, 196–197: “Cum longe ante imperium et Romanorum genus ex antiquo, scilicet iure gentium quod cum ipso humano genere proditum est, fuerunt regna cognita, condita et distincta dominia. . . . Et certe quicumque Romanorum gesta revolvat non inveniet quod aliter quam per armorum fortitudinem solam et sic de facto potius quam de iure. . . . Romanorum imperium tam in regno Sicilie quam multis regnis et partibus aliis est de facto hodie diminutum, nec sine optima ratione, nam Romanus populus quod fecit, passus est.” Cf. also Andrea d’Isernia, “nomen imperatorum novum est respectu regum, qui fuerunt omni tempore . . . in toto veteri testamento non erat imperator aliquis, sed reges tantum:” from his *Proemium*, ed. Cervoni, xxx.

⁸ On this aspect of their juridical arguments see Chapter Three above, at nn. 138–141.

⁹ The authorship of these three letters has been the subject of some debate. Bowsky (*Henry VII in Italy*, 190) attributes the first and third to Robert, but considers the second to be by a different, unknown author. Most scholars agree that they were all written by the same author, but differ on his identity. A. Solmi and others (discussed by Monti, “La dottrina,” 24–25) identify him as the Neapolitan jurist Jacopo de Belviso; Monti himself prefers Bartolomeo da Capua; Calasso believes the letters were written by Robert himself. Certainly the letters conform to the opinions of the Neapolitan jurists as expressed in their other writings, but equally certainly they reflect Robert's own stance; for convenience's sake I will treat them as Robert's texts.

on which it was based.¹⁰ The dignity and authority of the ancient Roman Empire were no more, he argued: the kings of France, Sicily, Spain, and indeed all kings were now neither subject nor obedient to it.¹¹ Nor should they be, for the empire had been founded by force and occupation; its present diminution was thus only reasonable, and anyway all its rights and powers had already been transferred to the pope. To speak of the power and authority of the empire in these modern days was thus simply an abuse.¹² The third and most elaborate letter was written in the summer of 1313 as instructions for the Angevin ambassadors being sent to Pope Clement V. This letter embellished the juristic points of the earlier text with propagandistic arguments such as the emperors' age-old history, from Domitian forward, of harming the Church; the barbarism of the Germanic race; and the necessity to desist in creating or confirming any more emperors—in effect, the necessity for the good of Christendom to dissolve the empire altogether.¹³

Henry's and Robert's confrontation of 1312–1313 gave dramatic immediacy to these conflicting legal interpretations, and made resolution of them more urgent. Was the emperor still—as Dante, inspired by Henry's campaign, passionately claimed—the sole rightful *princeps*

¹⁰ This letter is published in Franz Kern, *Acta imperii Angliae et Franciae ab a. 1267 ad a. 1313* (Tübingen, 1911), 244–247, following Paris, BN, MS lat. 4046, a manuscript which contains other texts associated with Robert's court (including Robert's own poverty tract and a copy of Ptolemy of Lucca's pro-Angevin *De iurisdictione*). Its opening lines, and therefore the address, are missing; it may have been another letter sent to Clement V, or a memorandum (like the following text) for ambassadors or the royal council.

¹¹ "Alius fuit status dignitatis et auctoritatis imperatoris secundum priora tempora et antiqua . . . quam sit hodie. . . . Rex Francie, rex Sicilie, rex Ispanie, rex Aragonie, rex Anglie, rex Portugallie, rex Armenie, rex Ungarie, rex Cipri et fere indistincte omnes reges mundi nec sibi subiciunt nec obediunt." In the edition of Kern, 246.

¹² "Sed obicietur forsitan: imperator non est hodie super omnes reges et super omnes nationes, sed esse debet. . . . Ad quod respondendum est . . . quia sicut dicit Sallustius, imperium fuit acquisitum viribus et occupatione. . . . Ergo rationabile fuit et est, ut ipsum sit imperium multipliciter diminutum, quod violenter fuit acquisitum. . . . Ex predictis patet, quod loquendo moderno tempore de potestate et auctoritate imperatoris est quoddammodo sermo abusivus, quoniam . . . nullum dominium, imperium, potestatem aut iurisdictionem in Romanos habeat, nihilque ibi corporale aut incorporale possideat, ratione abdicationis et donationis Constantini." Ibid., 246–47.

¹³ The best edition of this letter is *MGH, Legum, Sectio IV, Constitutiones*, IV, 2 (1908), 1369–1373. Its first editor, Francesco Bonaini (*Acta Henrici VII*, vol. 1 [Florence, 1877], 233–47) mistakenly conflated it with the "first letter" mentioned above and thus dated it to August 1312. Most scholars now differ only as to whether it was written soon before or soon after Henry's death on 24 August 1313.

of a single Christian commonwealth? Or had European kings' practical gains, backed by claims that they were "emperors in their own realms" who "recognized no superior," proved the rightfulness of a different model of multiple, mutually independent national monarchies?¹⁴ The question had been debated for over a century with no definitive resolution. The much-cited bull *Per venerabilem* (1202), for instance, had stated that the French king had no temporal superior, but in a way that left the implications of the statement unclear.¹⁵ Thus while French publicists (and French kings) embraced the bull to assert French independence of the empire, jurists were not so sure.¹⁶ Nor indeed were the self-appointed arbiters of the question, the popes: at the turn of the fourteenth century, Boniface VIII still proclaimed the empire's universal temporal jurisdiction and the subordination of all secular princes to it.¹⁷

¹⁴ On the origins of these two juridical formulae and their adaptation in the early thirteenth century to support royal claims of independence from the empire, see Gaines Post, "Two Notes on Nationalism in the Middle Ages," *Traditio* 9 (1953), 281–320, at 296 ff., and Brian Tierney, "Some Recent Works on the Political Theories of the Medieval Canonists," *Traditio* 10 (1954), 594–625, at 612–619. Pennington (*The Prince and the Law*, 105) has observed that for legal theorists, the question of the king's relation to the emperor was ancillary to their primary interest in the king's relation to the law. It remained a point of issue, however, for the rulers affected by imperial claims (notably the emperor himself, the king of France, and the king of Naples) and their respective supporters and publicists.

¹⁵ *Per Venerabilem* was a response to William of Montpellier's request for the legitimation of his bastard children; in denying the request Pope Innocent III noted that whereas Philip Augustus (whose bastard children had been so legitimized) had no temporal superior, William did, and thus the pope's legitimation of William's children would impinge upon the rights of the French king. Thus the assertion that the French king had no temporal superior was an aside, whose implications were not worked out. Like other weak or ambiguous arguments made by the impetuous Innocent, it posed significant problems for later commentators. See Kenneth Pennington, "Pope Innocent's Views on Church and State: A Gloss to *Per Venerabilem*," in *Popes, Canonists and Texts* (Aldershot, Eng., 1993), 49–67.

¹⁶ French publicists who supported the king's *de iure* independence of the empire in the years around 1300 included Thomas de Pouilly, Pierre Dubois, and Guillaume de Plaisians; King Philip IV claimed it as well in a letter of 1312 directed to Henry VII (published in *MGH, Legum*, IV, *Constitutiones*, IV, no. 811). Some French jurists (for instance, Jean de Blanot) also took this position; Pierre de Belleperche and Jacques de Révigny, however, considered the French king still *de jure* subject to the empire. See J.P. Canning, "Law, Sovereignty, and Corporation Theory, 1300–1450," in *Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c. 350–c. 1450*, ed. J.H. Burns (Cambridge, Eng., 1988), 466–469; Monti, "La dottrina," 32–33; Calasso, *I glossatori*, 150; and Pennington, *The Prince and the Law*, 95–98, who notes the jurists' likely motive: by denying imperial powers to the French king, they could safeguard French customary law.

¹⁷ Calasso, *I glossatori*, 80–81.

Thus as tensions between Robert and Henry intensified in the spring of 1313, Pope Clement V determined to resolve the issue definitively. Several expert opinions had already been composed before 24 August 1313, when Henry VII's unexpected death removed the imminent political crisis; Clement V, still determined to settle the legal issues involved, obtained two further consilia from the distinguished jurist Oldradus de Ponte.¹⁸ In the bull *Pastoralis cura* of March 1314 Clement published his resolution of the affair, declaring, in keeping with Avignonese and Neapolitan juridical opinion, the baselessness of imperial claims to universal jurisdiction.¹⁹

In the larger context of European ideals of political organization, the resolution of the imperial-Angevin conflict represented a defining moment: the bull *Pastoralis cura* was the "clear (one might say official) abandonment of the high medieval papal conception of the universality of the Roman empire. . . . [It] drew the full implications of [*Per venerabilem*'s] view of the empire and expressed it in a permanent form."²⁰ It was also an affirmation of the aggressively anti-imperial stance Robert had adopted from June 1312 forward. Not only had he escaped any actual invasion by Henry (thanks mostly to his rival's fortuitously sudden death), but he had helped precipitate a legal resolution that removed the pretext for any further imperial attacks on his independent rule.

This resolution did not, however, prevent other would-be emperors from attempting such attacks. In Ludwig of Bavaria's Italian campaign of 1327–1330, sketched in Chapter Three, the aspiring emperor again threatened to invade the Regno and deposed Robert as its king. This conflict took place less against a legal background than a religious one: Angevin rhetoric pitted Ludwig, the condemned heretic surrounded by escapees from papal prison, against Robert, the champion of papal authority and orthodox religion. Thus the anti-imperial opinions issuing from Robert's entourage during Ludwig's

¹⁸ Pennington, "Henry VII and Robert," 85–89. Oldradus' first consilium (number 43) dealt with questions of judicial procedure raised by Henry's summons of Robert to court, and concluded that Henry had violated what we would now call "due process." The second (number 69) treated the question of imperial jurisdiction over other kings, and "decisively rejected imperial claims to be 'dominus mundi.'"

¹⁹ The text of *Pastoralis cura* can be found in Wilhelm Dönniges, *Acta Henrici VII imperatoris Romanorum et monumenta quaedam alia Medii Aevi* (Berlin, 1939), 241–243.

²⁰ Canning, "Law, Sovereignty," 469.

ascendancy tended to be written by friars rather than jurists, and often in pro-papal treatises dedicated to the pope. Such was Agostino d'Ancona's *Summa de ecclesiastica potestate*, which argued that the emperors, due to their tyranny and usurpation, had lost their universal jurisdiction and were merely German kings; other kings were emperors in their own realms; and it was to be hoped that the Empire, having already disintegrated so far, would fall into desolation.²¹ Similarly, Guglielmo da Sarzano's "Treatise on the excellence of royal power"—a companion piece to his *summa* on ecclesiastical power, and like it dedicated to the pope—paused in its praise of pope and papal-appointed king long enough to remark on the evils wrought in Italy by the "king of Germany": oppression of citizens, depopulation of towns, ruin of churches and, of course, outbursts of heresy.²²

Robert had another opportunity to assert his anti-imperial stance in the last months of 1333, when John of Bohemia proposed his son, Henry of Bavaria, as imperial candidate.²³ To dissuade Pope John XXII from supporting the Bohemian's proposal, Robert dispatched envoys laden with another exposition of virulent anti-imperial rhetoric.²⁴ It opened with a nearly verbatim reprise of Robert's letter to Pope Clement V in 1313, explaining the empire's illegal origins and the endless devastation its rulers had wrought in Christendom from Domitian's time to the present. A crowned emperor would subject the whole world—not least the papacy: as authentic texts attested, the emperor believed

²¹ Passages cited in Michael Wilks, *The Problem of Sovereignty in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Eng., 1963), 433–446. Wilks contends that Agostino still espoused the idea of a universal empire on the abstract level, and in certain practical cases. Agostino's affirmation of papal plenitude of power did require support of the empire's validity in Constantine's time (because the pope's legitimate universal jurisdiction was based in part on Constantine's conferral of it: see Wilks, 440, n. 2), but this did not necessarily extend to contemporary emperors. Some of the ambiguity in Wilks' discussion of Agostino's views results from the conflation of Agostino's statements with those of other authors: e.g. at 442–443, where the views of Agostino and Dante—one anti-imperial, the other pro-imperial—are treated as a single moderate opinion.

²² In the edition of F. Delorme, "Tractatus Fratris Guillelmi de Sarzano de excellentia principatus regalis," *Antonianum* 15 (1940), 221–244, at 236.

²³ The background to this proposal is sketched in Chapter Three, above, at nn. 50–55.

²⁴ This letter is edited by Karl Müller, *Der Kampf Ludwigs des Baiern mit der römischen Curie*, 2 vols. (Tübingen, 1879–80), 1: 394–405.

that he is above all kings and has under him all nations, and the rule of the Roman Church; once he is crowned, he rises to the height of pride and believes himself to be not only the equal of the lord pope, but even his superior. And thus, however much the emperors make a show of humility and reverence toward the Roman Church before their coronation and consecration, afterward . . . they turn against her.²⁵

Thus in addition to the countless evils that the emperors had visited upon Italy in particular, the pope should keep in mind the “grave scandal . . . the injuries, aggressions, persecutions, depopulations, and tedious things defying enumeration” that the empire always inflicted not only on the peninsula, and on France, but on the Church as well.²⁶

Such arguments accorded perfectly with the Angevins’ traditional role as Guelf leader and champion of the Church. Indeed, Robert surpassed his predecessors in the vigor of his anti-imperial persona. Charles I, once installed in the kingdom, and Charles II after him had not encountered any direct threat from the empire; their rejection of imperial overlordship could thus be left tacit, in subtle oversights and in the untested theories of their jurists. Robert mobilized that theory into a polemical campaign that not only publicly denied imperial overlordship of the Regno, but condemned the empire’s very existence as harmful to the Church and to all Christians.²⁷ Some historians have been inclined to see this anti-imperialism as the Angevins’ inevitable and indeed only feasible policy. Edouard Jordan has argued that the only options for Angevin-imperial relations were latent hostility and open hostility; for Gennaro Maria Monti, any diversion from anti-imperial policy was a sign of the Regno’s weakness and diminution to the “greyness of a regional power.”²⁸

²⁵ “Unde cum imperator dicatur per aliquas scripturas auctenticas quod ipse est super omnes reges et habet sub se omnes naciones et regimen Romane ecclesie, statim quod est coronatus, erigitur in summum superbie et credit se esse non solum parem domini pape sed eciam majorem. Et propterea quamquam ante coronacionem et consecracionem pretendant ipsi imperatores multiplicia signa humilitatis et reverencie erga ipsam Romanam ecclesiam, tamen post coronacionem et consecracionem ipsorum . . . in superbiam recalcitrant contra eam.” Ibid., 399–400.

²⁶ “. . . quod semper per presidentes imperio est in Francia, Italia, et in ipsa Romana ecclesia grave scandalum concitatum et . . . iniurie, impugnaciones, persecuciones, depopulaciones, et tedia non facile numeranda. . . .” Ibid., 400.

²⁷ For a comparison of the first three Angevins’ imperial policies, see Monti, “La dottrina,” 12–14.

²⁸ Edouard Jordan, *Les origines de la domination angevine en Italie* (Paris, 1909), 608; Monti “La dottrina,” 10.

Behind the strident rhetoric of Robert and his supporters, however, lay a less doctrinaire political approach. In 1309, for instance, when Henry VII's election enjoyed the support of the papacy and Robert had just been crowned king, Robert attempted to forge an alliance with the new emperor-elect. Negotiations were undertaken to marry Henry's daughter Beatrice to Charles of Calabria, Robert's only son, and to divide control of northern Italy between the two powers. Charles would serve as imperial vicar of Tuscany for life; Lombardy would be ruled by mutual accord of the Angevins and the empire.²⁹ During Henry's descent through Italy in 1310 and 1311, Robert kept these negotiations open; only in 1312 did he abandon the marriage project and undertake open resistance to Henry, having learned that Henry was negotiating an alternate marriage alliance with Robert's enemy, Frederick of Sicily. Indeed, the last stage of Henry's Italian campaign—undertaken with papal approval, embraced by much of northern Italy, strengthened now by a Sicilian alliance, and culminating in Henry's dramatic deposition of Robert—was probably the gravest threat Robert faced in his whole reign. His reaction was understandably extreme, demanding the pope's dissolution of the empire and requesting to be appointed vicar, *vacante imperio*, of northern Italy.³⁰

For all its intensity, however, the danger quickly dissipated. Henry died before he could attack the Regno, and *Pastoralis cura* seemed to cement the safety of Robert's royal status. Further, his new appointments as lord of Florence and imperial vicar in the north gave him extensive influence over the peninsula. By 1316, when Frederick of Austria had emerged as the most likely imperial candidate, the empire no longer looked so threatening, and Robert opened negotiations with him as he had with Henry VII. The previous year, Frederick had put out feelers regarding a marriage between his sister Catherine and Peter, son of Frederick of Sicily. Robert, hoping to forestall another imperial-Sicilian alliance, again proposed his son Charles for the imperial marriage. This time he was successful, and Charles and

²⁹ Giovanni Tabacco, "Un presunto disegno domenicano-angioino per l'unificazione politica dell'Italia," *Rivista storica italiana* 61 (1949), 506. The agreement would also have brought the Kingdom of Arles, Beatrice's dowry, fully under Angevin control: see Paul Fournier, *Le royaume d'Arles et de Vienne, 1138–1378* (Paris, 1891), 354.

³⁰ That Robert requested the vicariate from Pope Clement V was noted later, in 1317, by John XXII: see Tabacco, "Un presunto disegno," 513.

Catherine were married on 23 June 1316.³¹ As Robert announced in letters of 1 and 2 August 1316, this agreement stipulated Charles' appointment as imperial vicar over all Guelf cities in Italy. As in 1310, imperial and Angevin powers were to divide control of northern Italy and rule it in mutual concord.³²

Both Robert and Frederick then sought support from the newly-elected Pope John XXII for their alliance.³³ John XXII did not seem averse, but nevertheless insisted upon naming Robert his vicar in northern Italy on 16 July 1317—thereby making the point that the papacy still considered the imperial throne vacant, and that John XXII retained control over Frederick's confirmation.³⁴ Both Frederick and Robert were willing to live with the juridical contradictions of this situation. Robert accepted the papal vicariate, thus holding his title in northern Italy from two different sources. Frederick, for his part, showed solidarity with his new Guelf allies by sending his brother to suppress Italian Ghibellines rebelling against the pope and the pope's vicar, Robert.³⁵ Only Frederick's defeat at the battle of Mühldorf in 1322 and the unexpected rise of his rival, Ludwig of Bavaria, foiled this burgeoning Angevin-imperial alliance.

An Angevin Empire?

Guelf observers seem to have overlooked these instances of Angevin-imperial collaboration, however, and celebrated instead the defeat of Henry VII's and Ludwig's campaigns as the triumph of Guelfism. Indeed, some went as far as to suggest that Robert become a sort of Guelf emperor, uniting all Italy under one peaceful rule as the emperors had failed to do. Certainly circumstances appeared conducive to such a plan at several moments in Robert's career. The defeat of Henry VII had marked the juridical demise of imperial

³¹ Ibid., 505–506.

³² Ibid., 503, and Monti, “La dottrina,” 42–43, who publishes Robert's letter of 1 August, addressed to his *fideles*, at 43n.

³³ Tabacco, “Un presunto disegno,” 508.

³⁴ Ibid., 513. Tabacco notes that this vicarial appointment was entirely the pope's initiative, and was not (unlike the similar appointment of 1314) solicited by Robert—who, having already been granted the vicariate by Frederick, would have had no reason to seek it.

³⁵ Ibid., 514.

claims over Italy, and secured for Robert the role of substitute, papal-appointed vicar in the north—conditions potentially favorable to peninsular unification under his aegis. The retreat of Ludwig of Bavaria in 1330 again left Robert the principal power on the peninsula, and when he joined the pan-Italian league two years later—becoming the ranking member of an unprecedented union of Guelph and Ghibelline forces poised to defend Italy against “foreign” invaders—it may well have seemed the first step toward a pan-Italian realm.

One contemporary who wished an Italian crown for Robert was Niccolò Rosso of Treviso. In a sonnet addressed to Pope John XXII, he begged: “O Zovanni apostolico benegno/ . . . mandazi il tuo figliolo re Roberto/ coronato de l’italico regno. . . .”³⁶ Another was the “master of Prato,” perhaps Petrarch’s teacher Convevole da Prato, who wrote the *Regia carmina* in 1335 or 1336.³⁷ The very long (some 3800 verses) and elaborately illuminated manuscript was immediately reproduced in at least four more copies, suggesting that the author’s views were not uncommon.³⁸ Unlike Niccolò, the Prato master lauded Robert as an alternative to the papacy: in the wake of the papal-Bohemian alliance and the pan-Italian league’s opposition to it, Robert was now viewed as an Italian hero independent of his papal lord. Indeed, the text presented him as a kind of millennial savior: after an initial section suffused with chiliastic expectations, the work turned to “the glorification of Italy’s ardently desired world ruler, Robert.”³⁹ This second section opens on folio 10 with one of Robert’s most splendid surviving portraits, enthroned, in profile, against a background of fleurs-de-lys (Plate 10). On the facing page, a female personification of Italy, with a supplicating

³⁶ Printed in A.F. Massera, ed., *Sonetti burleschi e realistici dei primi due secoli*, 2 vols. (Bari, 1920), 1: 229.

³⁷ See Arsenio Frugoni, “Studi su Convevole da Prato, maestro di Petrarca,” *Bullettino dell’Istituto storico italiano e archivio muratoriano* 81 (1969), 1–32; Cesare Grassi, ed., *Regia carmina dedicati a Roberto d’Angio re di Sicilia e di Gerusalemme*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1982); and Ernst Saenger, “Das Lobgedicht auf König Robert von Anjou. Ein Beitrag zur Kunst- und Geistesgeschichte des Trecento,” *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 84 (1988), 7–91.

³⁸ Three copies survive, deriving from at least two different exemplars; the best surviving copy is London, British Museum, MS 6 E IX, the copy studied by Saenger. All surviving copies date from the mid-fourteenth century, and were thus copied immediately after the original’s composition. The identity of the illuminator of the London manuscript, probably Tuscan, possibly southern Italian, is unknown. See Frugoni, “Studi su Convevole,” 14–19.

³⁹ So notes Saenger, “Das Lobgedichte,” 21.

gesture, exhorts Robert to “come out of his fake prison” as the ancient warriors emerged from the Trojan horse, to take possession of her (Plate 11).⁴⁰ On following folios he is exhorted by Rome, by Florence: “Latium suffers from the absence of the papacy; Tuscany lacks a king, nor does Lombardy have one. . . . O King, only hope of the Italian people, press on.”⁴¹ Petrarch himself, as is well known, lamented the papacy’s absence from Rome and wished for a champion who would unite divided Italy. Before he turned those hopes on Charles IV of Bohemia and Cola di Rienzo, he had attached them to Robert, as he confessed in a letter to his friend and Robert’s courtier, Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro. “I recognize that in our weakness we require a king; thus you can believe me if I say that of all kings none could be more desired by me than our own [Robert].”⁴²

Some of Robert’s courtiers entertained similar ideas. Guglielmo da Sarzano was driven to write his treatise on the excellence of royal rule in the early 1320s and to send it to the pope because “I often see and hear that all Italy and Germany are consumed with civil wars and dangerous destruction through its lack of rule.” Thus Guglielmo presumably intended that the ideal, wise king he described at the end of the tract should be appointed by the pope as ruler of all Italy, if not indeed as emperor.⁴³ It is likely as well that one or more members of Robert’s court were the authors of an apocryphal bull, *Ne pretereat*, which would have the pope separating Italy from the Empire and appointing an Italian king.⁴⁴

The notion that such pan-Italian aspirations were the logical extension of Angevin policy has colored much of the modern commentary on Robert’s reign. For Romolo Caggese, the principal interest of Robert’s reign was “the events of a national character in which

⁴⁰ “Exeat e ficto carcere, tunc rivedebit quid vis nostra valet.” See the explanation of Frugone, “Studi su Convenevole,” 22–23.

⁴¹ “. . . Ac nocet hec Latiis absentia pontificatus . . . Tuscia rege caret nec habet Lombardia regem nec circumstantes regiones. . . . unica spes gentis Italie, Rex, perge.” Cited in *ibid.*, 23–24, 26.

⁴² “Riconosco alla fiachezza nostra necessaria il braccio di un Re, così ormai tu puoi credermi, se dico che fra tutti i re nessuno da me potersene desiderare migliore del nostro”: cited in Saenger, “Das Lobgedichte,” 63.

⁴³ “Quoniam cum totam Ytaliā jugiter et Almaniam sepe audiam et videam bellis intestinis et excidiis periculosis consumi pro defectu regimine . . .”: in the edition of Delorme, “Fratris Guillelmi,” 226.

⁴⁴ Tabacco, “Un presunto disegno,” *passim*.

Robert participated spontaneously or into which he was drawn by circumstance or political calculation.”⁴⁵ Émile Léonard stated it more succinctly: “Robert’s political conception: national monarchy.”⁴⁶ We have already seen, however, that despite his virtually unrivaled peninsular influence in 1314, he was perfectly willing (and indeed initiated the proposal) to divide northern Italy with another imperial candidate only two years later. He showed no more interest in pursuing the role of national monarch in the 1330s. The pan-Italian league had served Robert’s interests in resisting the Bohemian-papal-French alliance that had threatened his influence in northern Italy and his possession of Provence. But once John of Bohemia had retreated across the Alps and the danger was past, Robert made no effort to take up the national mantle held out to him by texts like the *Regia carmina*.

His disinterest is fully evident in a letter he sent to John XXII in May 1334, when John of Bohemia was soliciting the pope’s approval of a new plan to set up his son Henry as imperial candidate. Rather than capitalize on the unprecedented amity between Guelf and Ghibelline powers and on the fervent wishes of some Italians that he “press on” against papacy and empire, Robert reverted to an old (and less costly) strategy: reactivate his former papal alliance and thereby nip the imperial plan in the bud. Given his recent defiance of the papacy, however, Robert had to do some fast talking to obtain the desired rapprochement. Thus in addition to offering another sweeping historical overview of imperial crimes, Robert justified the pan-Italian League’s recent actions, “since false reports, contrary to the truth, are being directed to the hearing of both the lord highest pontiff and the lord cardinals” about it. The justifications are long and detailed: it was true that Ferrara seemed to be resisting the army of the Church, but only in self-defense and because some churchmen found themselves in the camp of the invading Bohemian. Anyway Ferrara would have desisted except that Florence got involved, and if Robert appeared to be with the Florentines it was only because he was known to be their usual ally. In fact he had sent no military forces to the League, but rather had tried to negotiate with the Bohemian and the papal legate for peace. Despite

⁴⁵ Romolo Caggese, *Roberto d’Angiò e i suoi tempi*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1922–30), 1: xxxvii.

⁴⁶ Émile Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples* (Paris, 1954), 210.

these protestations of innocence, Robert did have some military actions to account for. Regarding the army camped above Parma and Reggio, he wrote, it was well known that these cities had abandoned the faith and dominion of the Church to adhere to the Bohemian's rebellion; the same could be said of Lucca, which Robert's army legitimately occupied. And if there had been mention of Cremona and other cities, Robert's response was that the Bohemian had no right to hold them in the first place.⁴⁷ With such explanations Robert disowned the League's onetime defiance of "foreign" papal interference in Italy, and recast his recent actions as anti-imperial, but not anti-Church.

Even the king's most propagandistic language avoided national terminology. He was certainly not above drawing gentile caricatures to demonize the empire: one reason to dissolve it, he wrote in 1313, was that the emperors were usually "of German tongue, which customarily produces a bitter and intractable people, one that adheres more to barbaric ferocity than to the Christian faith."⁴⁸ Furthermore, "since the Germans have no concord with the Gauls, but rather repugnance for them, and do not harmonize with the Italians—such that it may be said of them what is written [John, 4:9], "*the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans*"—therefore the pope should beware lest "German ferocity" wreak harm among kings and nations.⁴⁹ The invocation of gentile categories was a common late-medieval stragem for uniting subjects around a common identity that was linked to their king, and opposed to the king's rivals. But where in other kingdoms such language served to foster national identity—"Englishness" versus "Frenchness," for instance—here "Germanness" was contrasted with a broader Latin identity. Embracing both *Gallici* and *Ytalici*, it was defined by Christian culture and by "sweetness," and was therefore antithetical to the barbarous, bitter Germans. A similar association of Italy, France, and the Church characterized Robert's letter of 1334, where he sought to identify himself with all three. Had not Robert fought against those notorious Ghibellines in Lucca,

⁴⁷ See the edition in Müller, *Der Kampf Ludwigs*, 1: 401–403.

⁴⁸ "De lingua Germana, que consuevit producere gentem acerbam et intractabilem, que magis adheret barbarice feritati quam Christiane professioni." *MGH*, loc. cit. (see n. 13 above), 1372.

⁴⁹ "Cum Germani cum Gallicis non habeant convenienciam, immo repugnanciam, et cum Ytalicis non convenient, ut dicatur de eis, quod scriptum est: *non concurrunt Iudei Samaritanis*": *ibid*.

who were rebels of the Church and spillers (alas!) of the blood of the house of France?⁵⁰ Didn't history prove the empire to be the inveterate enemy not only of Robert and the Italians, but of France and indeed all those loyal to the Church? Such language adapted the model of national rhetoric in a way that suited Robert's particular circumstances. It united his Italian and Provençal territories in a common cultural identity, accommodated Robert's pride in his French descent, and could be construed to include the Latin popes, whose support was crucial in these moments—while still effectively opposing his imperial rivals.

The question of Robert's potential national or even imperial destiny on the peninsula invites comparison with his policy in another area open to Angevin expansion: the eastern Mediterranean. The ambitious Charles I, already master of Provence and Sicily, had laid the groundwork for such a Mediterranean empire by contracting marriage alliances with the Árpád house in strategically located Hungary and by buying, in 1277, the title to the Kingdom of Jerusalem. He was on the verge of launching an expedition to conquer Constantinople in 1282 when the Sicilian Vespers spoiled his plans.⁵¹ Following in this path, Charles II tried to establish Angevin lordship in Albania in the first years of the fourteenth century, both to protect the Adriatic coast of the kingdom and as a base from which to launch expeditions against Constantinople and the Muslim Levant.⁵² Instead of occupying himself directly with the project, however, Charles II entrusted the Albanian "duchy of Durazzo," as well as a shared title to Achaia on the Greek mainland, to his son Philip of Taranto. His aim was doubtless to provide an outlet for his most ambitious and hot-tempered son; similar strategies had already gained the crown of Hungary for another Angevin prince. And Philip certainly took steps to do so, marrying Catherine of Valois-Courtenay in 1313 in order to stake a claim to the Latin Kingdom of Constan-

⁵⁰ "Illa enim civitas [Lucca] occupata fuit domino rege Jerusalem et Sicilie . . . deinde subdolis machinationibus et hostilibus conatibus per tyrannos Castrucium et Ugucionem de Fagiola, sancte ecclesie proditorum pariter et rebellem, domus Francie sanguinis nefandum (produlor!) effusorem": Müller, *Der Kampf Ludwigs*, 402–403.

⁵¹ Jean Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou. Power, Kingship, and State-Making in Thirteenth-Century Europe* (London, 1998), 95–96.

⁵² David Abulafia, "The Aragonese Kingdom of Albania: An Angevin Project of 1311–1316," in *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. Benjamin Arbel (London, 1996), 2–3.

tinople, and marrying his daughters to the Duke of Athens and the Armenian king. Once this political theater was handed over to a cadet branch of the royal house, however, Robert himself took little interest in it. When Philip was forced to surrender his title to Achaia, Robert helped reacquire it, through a quite brutal treatment of its heiress, for his other brother John; he encouraged the two princes to collaborate on eastern campaigns, occasionally offering them some token provisions or soldiers, and mediated their frequent quarrels.⁵³ But his only personal interest in the region was as a means of countering Aragonese expansion in the east, and indeed he cared for it so little that for years he tried to give Philip's lands to Frederick of Aragon in exchange for Sicily.⁵⁴

Robert betrayed no more interest in realizing his own claim to the ephemeral Kingdom of Jerusalem. He certainly relished this title as *rex Ierusalem*, which retained its aura as the apotheosis of Christian rulership. The king of Jerusalem was the true successor of David, and Robert could not have forgotten that Frederick II had managed to crown himself in the holy city like a true "emperor of the world." Such notions occasionally echoed around Robert as well. The *Regia carmina* cast the Angevin not only as the sole hope of Italy, but of the whole world; ancient heroes like Hercules as well as the four cardinal virtues and three graces exhorted him to embrace his destiny.⁵⁵ Remigio de' Girolami, expounding Psalm 2:6, *I have been constituted king by Him on Zion*, observed that these words were literally true of Robert: "historically and morally, this king is literally on Mount Zion, which belongs to the city of Jerusalem. On this mount was constructed the citadel which was called the tower of David. Indeed, [Robert] is king of Jerusalem by right, but it is also morally true that he is *on Zion*, since Zion is interpreted as "watchtower" by reason of illuminating wisdom."⁵⁶ Robert's title became the inspiration, in this passage, for ruminations on his role as a modern David

⁵³ Caggeese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 2: 302–324, and Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*, 297–98.

⁵⁴ Robert left this proposal open from 1311 to 1316; it involved buying Achaia and Albania from Philip for 70,000 ounces gold and exchanging them for Sicily, and was never seriously considered by Frederick of Aragon. See Abulafia, "The Aragonese Kingdom of Albania," 5–10.

⁵⁵ On this text see nn. 37–41 above.

⁵⁶ "Hystorialiter et moraliter ad litteram enim est rex *super montem Syon* qui scilicet pertinet ad civitatem Jerusalem. Super quem in Jerusalem erat edificata arx qui vocabatur turris David. Iste enim est rex Jerusalem de iure, sed et hoc moraliter verum est *super Syon*, qualiter ratione illuminative sapientie Syon enim interpretatur

and on the intrinsic virtue of wisdom that had earned him such a sign of God's favor.

Robert doubtless relished such characterizations. He tried to purchase Henry VII's imperial regalia in 1313, and the works of art he commissioned tended to attach imperial and even celestial allusions to Angevin kingship, often drawing on the Byzantine models already perpetuated by the Norman kings of Sicily.⁵⁷ The world-historical destiny attributed to him in the *Regia carmina* found a parallel in Robert's own royal castle, where he commissioned Giotto to paint a fresco cycle of *uomini illustri* that interspersed classical heroes and emperors (Hector, Achilles, Paris, Hercules, Alexander, Aeneas, Caesar) with the Biblical figures of Samson and King Solomon.⁵⁸ Remigio's notion of inheriting the mantle of the great Old Testament kings, meanwhile, was echoed in a genealogical "Tree of Jesse" fresco painted in Naples' cathedral in the first years of Robert's reign, which depicted the Hebrew kings in Angevin dress (Plate 12).⁵⁹

In practice, however, Robert's efforts to recover the Holy Land and spread Christendom over the whole earth were limited to some diplomatic correspondence with eastern rulers—he asked the sultan of Egypt to ensure safe travel for Christian pilgrims, and exhorted the Chinese Khan, Tartars, and Christians of Georgia to embrace or stay true to the faith—and the establishment of a Franciscan convent on Mount Zion.⁶⁰ As Romolo Caggese has observed, Robert had no "eastern policy": he was reluctant to abandon utterly the Angevins' historical claims in the region, but he had no intention of

specula." In the sermon inc. "*Ego constitutus sum rex ab eo super Syon*": Florence, Bibl. Naz., MS G 4 936, fol. 351v.

⁵⁷ Julian Gardner, "Saint Louis of Toulouse, Robert of Anjou, and Simone Martini," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 39 (1976), 23–28; Jean-Paul Boyer, "Sacre et théocratie. Le cas des rois de Sicile Charles II (1289) et Robert (1309)," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 81 (1997), 592–93.

⁵⁸ The fresco cycle is dated on documentary evidence to 1332–33; though no longer extant, it was described in a series of mid-fourteenth-century sonnets composed by a Florentine visiting Naples. See Ferdinando Bologna, *I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli, 1266–1414* (Rome, 1969), 187, 219–220, and the anonymous "Immagini di uomini famosi in una sala di Castelnuovo attribuite a Giotto," *Napoli nobilissima* 9 (1900), 65–67.

⁵⁹ Bologna, *I pittori*, 126–32.

⁶⁰ Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*, 296; Kaspar Elm, "La Custodia di Terra Santa. Franziskanisches Ordensleben in der Tradition der lateinischen Kirche Palästinas," in *I francescani nel Trecento. Atti del XIV convegno internazionale, Assisi 1986* (Perugia, 1988), 133–35.

lavishing men and money on vague and unpromising initiatives. Thus when the zealous crusade propagandist Marino Sanudo the Elder came to Naples in the early 1330s to plead the cause, Robert gave him a hearing but, to Marino's great disappointment, remained non-committal.⁶¹ Soon thereafter, in 1333, the pope demanded a crusade led by "princes nearest to the East," and since the project had the support as well of France, Venice, and Cyprus, Robert agreed to provide sixteen ships. When the rest of the flotilla arrived in the Bay of Naples in June 1334, however, Robert made excuses. In the end he contributed at most two ships to an enterprise that succeeded in defeating a Turkish fleet in the Levant, but that never pressed on in a full crusade.⁶²

Robert's inactivity in the eastern Mediterranean has often been attributed to his demanding involvements in Italian affairs. So Marino Sanudo lamented in Robert's own day, and so scholars have stated as well.⁶³ But there is no indication that Robert would have been more active in the east had the Italian situation miraculously turned stable. Despite his much greater concern with peninsular affairs, his attitudes toward Italy and the Mediterranean were similar in one respect: in both cases he utterly lacked that taste for great military ventures, for conquest, crusade, and empire-building, that had characterized the generation of his grandfather and great-uncle in the mid-thirteenth century.

His approach has sometimes baffled modern scholars as much as it frustrated contemporaries. One reads of the "ambiguous politics

⁶¹ Marino recounted the visit in a letter to the king of France in April 1332: "cause propter quam ivi Neapolim fui pro facta Turchorum, ut possem loqui serenissimo Jherusalem et Siciliae regi et eius fratribus . . . sed finaliter nihil ab eis potui obtinere." Printed in F. Kunstmann, "Studien über Marino Sanudo der Älteren," *Abhandlungen der Historischen Classe der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 7 (Munich, 1853), 797–98.

⁶² Norman Housley, "Angevin Naples and the Defence of the Latin East: Robert the Wise and the Naval League of 1334," in *Crusading and Warfare in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Aldershot, Eng., 2001), 548–556.

⁶³ Already in 1330, Marino noted to the papal legate, "cum omni reverentia dico quod valde timeo de serenissimo domino meo rege Jherusalem et Siciliae de eo quod occupavit terras Italiae, quod eidem non costet nimis. Nam vidi, quod sustinuit expensas maximas et labores, et amisit de gente sua absque utilitate, de quo vehementer doleo. . . . Et quam sic deliquit facta terrarum et insularum suarum, quae sunt eidem subditae et maxime in principatu Amoreae!" Printed in F. Kunstmann, "Studien," 778. For a parallel scholarly judgment, see Robert Henri Bautier, "Les grands problèmes politiques et économiques de la Méditerranée médiévale," in *Commerce méditerranéen et banquiers italiens au Moyen Âge* (Hampshire, Eng., 1992), 22.

of the Neapolitan court toward the empire and toward the Guelfs" and of "the Angevins' feeble forces in pursuing a policy that escaped in every direction from the court's control." Indeed, Romolo Caggese has argued, if Robert had no eastern policy no more did he have one for Tuscany, Lombardy, Piedmont, or indeed any part of the peninsula.⁶⁴ Yet it is difficult to ignore the common sense in Robert's strategy. Despite contemporaries' fervent attachment to ideals like crusade and a single Christian commonwealth, neither the future of the "Latin kingdom" of the east, nor the chances of a new crusade's success, nor indeed the notion that any one conqueror might subdue all Italy could be considered very promising by the first decades of the fourteenth century. Instead of desultory, hapless, or directionless, a sympathetic observer might call his approach empirical: a strategy appropriate to the changeable circumstances of his region's politics.⁶⁵

The only point on which Robert proved quite inflexible was the recovery of Sicily. He could never accept that the island's transfer to another lord was irreversible, and would not countenance mere overlordship of its Aragonese king. Despite the stalemate obtaining between the two powers the whole length of his reign, he persevered in launching an endless series of fruitless naval campaigns. The financial repercussions of this obsession were considerable. If many of the economic pressures Robert faced were beyond his control, this one was wholly of his making, and contributed to that need for fiscal husbandry that earned him a reputation as avaricious. Sicily was the blind spot in Robert's political sensibility, the theater of action in which he pursued the most obstinately traditional strategy and in which he achieved no results.⁶⁶

It was on the mainland, where his interests were almost equally intense and where his perception was not blinded by vengeance for an ancient wrong, that the dominant character of his political

⁶⁴ Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 1: 154; 2: 280, 305–6.

⁶⁵ In a concluding reflection on Robert's early imperial negotiations, Tabacco writes that in this period in general, "there had to be a great deal of empiricism. . . . Much depended on changeable impulses and resentments, on sudden hopes and disappointments. And yet some things endured tenaciously: old traditions, inherited ambitions, certain political tendencies." "Un presunto disegno," 523.

⁶⁶ The monotonous tale of Robert's Sicilian initiatives, alternating between major expeditions, armed truces, and failed negotiations, is retold in Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 1: 163–250.

sensibility was most in evidence. His flexible and non-ideological approach, suggested already in his relations with the empire, was all the more pronounced in his dealings with individual city-states, where an even more complex web of factors and interests obtained.

Italian Policy: Challenges and Solutions

Robert had no single Italian policy, for there was no single Italy to treat with. His roles in different regions were diverse: self-styled count in Piedmont, he was the pope's vicar in Romagna, and *primus inter pares* among the allied Guelf cities of Tuscany. Guelf-Ghibelline factionalism informed his relations with each region, as did the knowledge that any Italian city could turn to other allies—the empire, or Frederick of Sicily—if Robert displeased them. But this larger papal-imperial opposition was only one element in a diplomacy that had to accommodate the particular circumstances pertaining to each major Italian city.

Venice

An independent maritime republic as much Mediterranean as it was Italian, Venice stood largely aloof from the papal-imperial conflicts that convulsed the peninsula. It had no need of Robert as a protector against external enemies or as a mediator of internal conflicts, and was little susceptible to the emotionally charged rhetoric of Guelf and Ghibelline. Venetian-Angevin diplomacy demonstrated repeatedly the limitations of Robert's Guelf persona: sometimes detrimental to his interests and sometimes simply irrelevant, that persona met with an impassive response on the few occasions he invoked it. Relations between the two powers were therefore characterized more by pragmatic self-interest, and by the careful calculation of each party's potential to benefit or harm the other.

Venetian-Angevin relations revolved principally around two issues: Venetian access to Apulian grain, and naval influence in the eastern Mediterranean, where Angevin territories and the ships that serviced them were vulnerable to attack. It was a different matter, however, that sparked tensions between the two powers at the start of Robert's reign: a struggle between Venice and the papacy for control of Ferrara, an important trading town on the Po river south

of Venice, and the pope's declaration of a crusade against Venice in 1309. Thus for a brief period, until its submission to papal wishes in 1310, Venice found itself in the unusual role of enemy of the Church, and Robert, as Guelf loyalist, was expected to support the crusade by arresting Venetians in his kingdom, confiscating their goods, and suspending trade with their home city. The consequences of this affair have been variously assessed. Norman Housley asserts that Robert had "no personal interest" in the Venetian-papal dispute and played little role in it; Georges Yver, by contrast, identifies it as the beginning of a long Angevin hostility toward Venice, sparked by the Angevins' traditional loyalty to the papacy.⁶⁷

Angevin-Venetian diplomacy indicates, however, that the real tensions between Robert and Venice began after the crusade had ended, and that Robert was neither indifferent nor staunchly pro-papal in his dealings with the city. The king's direct involvement in Ferrarese affairs began in 1312, when the pope appointed him vicar of the town. Despite the treaty obtaining between Venice and the papacy, Robert's official in Ferrara, Adenulfo d'Aquino, appeared reluctant to observe it. Before June 1313, Adenulfo had arrested some Venetian trading ships travelling up the Po River to Ferrara, claiming that the treaty allowing such trade was not yet in effect.⁶⁸ Venice complained to the pope, who in early July reprimanded Robert for his official's behavior. Tolls on river trade brought profit to Ferrara, the pope observed, and hence to the papacy and Robert himself; the pope had worked hard to encourage Venetians to use it, and now Robert had brought all these efforts to nought. The king's actions were both harmful to the Church and self-defeating, and by violating the treaty, he had now given Venice an excuse to do the same.⁶⁹ The response of Robert's representative was qualified concession. He

⁶⁷ Norman Housley, *The Italian Crusades. The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusades against Christian Lay Powers, 1254–1343* (Oxford, 1982), 24–25; Georges Yver, *Le commerce et les marchands dans l'Italie méridionale au XIII^e et au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1903; repr. New York, 1968), 255. See also David Abulafia, "Venice and the Kingdom of Naples in the Last Years of Robert the Wise," in *Italy, Sicily, and the Mediterranean* (Aldershot, Eng., 1987), 186–87.

⁶⁸ In a letter of 26 June 1313, Adenulfo informed the doge that these ships could now be taken away. See R. Predelli, ed., *I libri commemoriali della repubblica di Venezia. Regesti*, vols. 1 and 2 (Venice, 1876), where this letter is summarized in vol. 1 as document no. 572.

⁶⁹ Predelli, *I libri commemoriali*, vol. 1, no. 585, where the pope's letter is appended to a later diplomatic correspondence between Robert and Venice.

would observe the treaty that permitted Venetian-Ferrarese trade via the Po River and that prohibited goods from reaching Ferrara by sea; one article touching on financial interests of king, however, he would not agree to until the king's decision was known.⁷⁰ Yet Adenulfo's disobedience continued, for in 1315 the doge and the pope were again complaining to Robert about his non-observance of the treaty, and about the fruitless embassies Venice had sent to him about it.⁷¹

What Robert had to gain by obstructing navigation on the Po is obscure, but probably had to do with the reference to "goods reaching Ferrara by sea": namely, direct trade between Ferrara and the Angevin kingdom. With Venetian ships prevented from trading with the city, southern Italian merchants (and their friends, the Florentines) could dominate, to the benefit of kingdom and crown. Robert's diplomacy in the matter was aimed at presenting this obstruction as the unapproved action of his official. In 1313 and again in early 1316, Robert apologized to doge and cardinals about the matter, professing his goodwill toward Venice and promising to instruct his official to observe the treaty.⁷² And he did send such instructions to Adenulfo d'Aquino—going so far as to send a copy of these instructions on to the doge, to prove his good intentions.⁷³ However, Adenulfo's guarded response of 1313 (in which he insisted on protecting the king's financial interests) and his continued disobedience in 1315 suggest that Robert's private instructions to his official were somewhat different.

The most curious part of this diplomacy was Robert's decision in 1313 to send to the doge not only his instructions to Adenulfo, but the pope's letter to Robert. On one hand, it could serve as another sign of Robert's good intentions regarding the treaty. He recognized that he was wrong; he was even willing to share with the doge the pope's harsh criticism of his actions as thoughtless and self-defeating. The missive also, however, revealed to the doge the pope's strategy of dictating and profiting from Venetian trade, and indicated, through the pope's exasperation, how crucial Robert was to those strategies'

⁷⁰ Ibid., no. 580.

⁷¹ Ibid., no. 662 (the doge's complaint to Robert), and no. 679 (mentioning the complaints of the popes and cardinals regarding Robert's non-observance of the treaty).

⁷² Ibid., nos. 586 and 679.

⁷³ Ibid., no. 585 (the letter he sent on to the doge) and no. 680.

execution. In the guise of well-intentioned candor, Robert was sending a subtle message to Venice of his value as a potential ally, willing to share confidential information and pivotal to the resolution of this trade dispute. As late as 1316 he was assuring Venice of his goodwill and independence from papal orders, instructing his ambassador to reveal “secretly” that Robert had sympathized with the Venice during the pope’s recent interdict of the city, and that he had ordered sanctions against Venetians to be observed “as gently as possible.”⁷⁴

Self-interest, rather than papal loyalty, emerges as Robert’s prime motive in this other offshoot of the papal crusade against Venice: the confiscation of Venetian goods in the kingdom. Like access to Ferrara, this remained a sore point between Robert and Venice long after the war with the papacy had ended. Robert ordered that Venetian goods (or the monetary equivalent, since many had been sold) be restored, and threatened his officials for non-compliance. It is perfectly possible that he was sincere about restitution, but the logistics, as Georges Yver has observed, were extremely complicated. Records had been ordered of what belonged to whom and where the goods or monies had gone, but were poorly kept; the corruption of officials, who doubtless pocketed some monies and often refused orders to restore them, made matters worse.⁷⁵ Meanwhile, Florentine merchants had taken over much of the trade once plied by the Venetians, and the greater benefits of this arrangement were readily apparent. Florence, unlike Venice, was a staunch Guelf ally; in exchange for preferential treatment in the kingdom, its companies provided the crown with generous loans, much needed in the early years to combat the Italian campaign of emperor Henry VII.⁷⁶ It was not only the loss of their goods in 1309 that vexed the Venetians but their replacement in Apulian trade by the Florentines, whom they accused Robert of unjustly favoring in 1317. The two cities’ rivalry for access to Apulian grain was, indeed, a prominent feature of Italian affairs throughout this half-century.⁷⁷ Once

⁷⁴ Ibid., no. 681 (February 1316).

⁷⁵ Yver, *Le commerce*, 263–267.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 304–309. Florentine banks lent some 116,000 ounces gold to the crown in the years 1312–1314, partially repaid through trade privileges in the kingdom. As Georges Yver has observed, “all that Venice lost, Florence gained.”

⁷⁷ Ibid., 268–9. It was not only Florence’s domination of the Apulian grain trade—which led Venice, in frustration, to prohibit trade with the region in 1325—but its

established, however, Florentine dominance proved impossible—or, from Robert's perspective, inconvenient—to reverse.

Venice had a weapon of its own, however: its Mediterranean naval power, which could attack Angevin merchant ships (as it did in 1316) and undermine the security of Angevin territories in Greece. The latter threat became acute by 1318, and spurred Robert adopt a new rhetoric of papal loyalty and devotion to the Church. Alfonso, the son of Robert's enemy Frederick of Sicily, was on a campaign in the eastern Mediterranean: he had taken control of Negroponte (which was under Venetian lordship) and attacked the Angevin principality of Achaia as well. Robert seized on this common cause against Alfonso, requesting Venetian aid against an enemy whose actions he decried, somewhat hypocritically, as the violation of a treaty with the Holy See. The pope, also galvanized by these events, sent a similar letter to the doge.⁷⁸ The Venetians may have aided Angevin interests while defending their own; their treaty with Frederick, however, certainly concerned only Venetian Negroponte.⁷⁹

Further, whatever aid Venice offered to Robert in the east was balanced by continuing attacks on Angevin ships. In 1324, Robert again addressed this delicate balance between Venetian help and harm, instructing his ambassador, first, to thank the doge for his help in Achaia, and then to request that Venetian vessels desist from attacking Robert's, as they had recently done in the Aegean. In an attempt to tip the balance in his favor, Robert again tried the tactic of presenting himself and Venice as allies against the enemies of the Church. The ambassador's final instructions were to persuade the doge of the usefulness of a union between King Robert and Venice, against the "schismatic Greeks" in the east.⁸⁰ The doge, not surprisingly, was little moved by this rhetoric. He acknowledged Robert's thanks, and evenly denied involvement in the maverick piracy of the Aegean, but an alliance against the Greeks was impossible, he asserted, for Venice maintained a treaty with them.⁸¹

inroads in Adriatic traffic that outraged the Venetians. For the complaints of the Venetian consul in June 1317, see Predelli, *I libri commemoriali*, vol. 2, no. 50.

⁷⁸ Predelli, *I libri commemoriali*, vol. 2, no. 90 (Robert's letter of 18 March 1318), and no. 100 (Pope John XXII's letter of 8 May 1318).

⁷⁹ Robert did have occasion to thank the doge for aid in Achaia, but much later: see the document cited in the following note. For the terms of Frederick's treaty with Venice, see *ibid.*, vol. 2, no. 101.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 410, dated 2 September 1324.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, no. 419 (October 1324).

Venetian-Angevin relations in the last decade of Robert's reign did not alter greatly from established patterns. In 1333 it was Venice's turn to suggest a crusade in the east—against the Turks this time, who menaced Venetian trade but did not directly threaten Angevin territories in the region—and Robert's turn to show indifference to the enterprise. Venice attacked Angevin ships in Greece in the same year (perhaps contributing to Robert's coolness toward the crusade), and committed "gross outrages" against Angevin vessels within the very ports of southern Italy in 1337. Robert, meanwhile, was accused of aiding pirates from Monaco who raided Venetian ships off the Adriatic coast of the Regno in 1336. Access to southern-Italian grain remained a sore point: Venice complained of the ill treatment of its merchants in southern Italian ports (though responsibility fell in part on the "wilful negligence and corruption" of Venice's own agents) and began to trade more intensively with Sicily, a move not likely to improve Venice's status in Angevin eyes.⁸²

All told, Robert generally presented himself to Venice in pragmatic terms, as a trading partner with influence over both commercial routes in the north and grain supplies in the south. He also presented himself as an independent strategist and crucial ally: one more useful than the papacy, as his correspondence of 1313 suggested, and more sympathetic to the republic, as his ambassador intimated in 1316. In this context, Robert's two efforts to frame his Venetian diplomacy in terms of Catholic solidarity—against Sicilian rebels or schismatic Greeks—appear both transparent and inappropriate. Whether Robert sought alternate ways to couch his self-interest in a positive light does not emerge clearly from the surviving documentation. Virtually all records of Angevin-Venetian relations come from the Venetian side, and lack mention of any more publicistic imagery employed by the king; nor are any of Robert's extant sermons identified as preached to a Venetian audience, despite his many meetings with Venetian ambassadors and the survival of other sermons preached on similar diplomatic occasions. Such sources do survive for Robert's dealings with Genoa and Florence, however, where the relationship between his political strategies and adopted personae can be traced more fully.

⁸² On events of this period see Abulafia, "Venice and the Kingdom of Naples," 186–204, who provides the quotations.

Genoa

The Angevin county of Piedmont was a new addition to the dynasty's territories, established only in the last years of Charles II's reign. As a territorial link between Provence and the Angevins' allied territories in Tuscany and Romagna, as well as a safeguard against Milanese expansion, it was a strategic but still rather tenuous acquisition. The eastern part of the region, in particular, changed hands in tandem with the changing strength of Robert's rivals, the Visconti of Milan, Philip of Savoy, and the marquis of Monferrat, and was only firmly under Angevin control from the mid-1330s.⁸³ Thus the prospect of adding Genoa to these holdings represented a significant opportunity. The city could help to consolidate Angevin control in north-west Italy, offer a safe harbor for the sea passage between Provence and Naples, and provide a skilled navy for Robert's struggle to regain Sicily. On the other hand, the city, like much of the region, was political volatile, and assuming lordship of it ran the risk of embroiling Robert in a costly and uncertain enterprise.

Robert was faced with this choice in 1318. After four years of tumultuous infighting among the ruling Ghibellines of Genoa, the city's Guelf faction had gained control of the city in 1317.⁸⁴ Under seige by the exiled Ghibellines and their Milanese allies, however, the Genoese Guelfs could not hold it on their own. Robert's role as Guelf champion required that he intervene, and in March 1318 the pope enjoined him to do so.⁸⁵ But to the frustration of his papal lord and the Genoese Guelfs, Robert stalled. He did not begin preparations for the campaign until May, and only set sail for Genoa in July. However delayed, his arrival was met with thanks by the

⁸³ Angevin dominion, established by Charles I but lost by 1287, was reestablished between 1303 and 1305 by Charles II, who designated Piedmont a county. In the west it stretched to Cuneo and Saluzzo; in the east, it included Asti and Alessandria for most of Robert's reign, and at times stretched virtually to the suburbs of Milan. See Gennaro Maria Monti, *La dominazione angioina in Piemonte* (Turin, 1930), esp. 105–212.

⁸⁴ Genoese affairs in these decades are chronicled by the contemporary Genoese Giorgio Stella, *Annales Genuenses*, ed. Giovanna Petti Balbi, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. 17, pt. 2 (Bologna, 1975), 82–125; by Agostino Giustiniani, *Castigatissimi Annali di Genova* (Genoa, 1537), fols. 119r–127r; and in the modern survey of Steven Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese, 958–1528* (Chapel Hill, 1996). Angevin dominion is the focus of David Abulafia, "Genova angioina, 1318–1335: Gli inizi della signoria di Roberto re di Napoli," in *Mediterranean Encounters* (Aldershot, Eng., 2000), 15–23.

⁸⁵ The pope's letter is cited in Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 2: 28n.

Genoese, whose government officers promptly resigned and handed over lordship of the city to Robert (officially co-governor with the pope) on July 27th. After some nine months of inconclusive fighting, Robert left his vicar and army to oversee the city and travelled on to Avignon, where he remained for the next five years.

The war for Genoa worsened, however, as Frederick of Sicily sent a flotilla against the city and the Guelf-Angevin forces in Genoa found themselves short of food and money. In response, the pope adopted an aggressively anti-Ghibelline stance. In late 1321 or early 1322 he declared a crusade against the Genoese Ghibellines and their abettors, including the Visconti of Milan.⁸⁶ Robert, however, adopted a different position: he made overtures to the Ghibelline exiles. In a letter of 23 March 1323 he wrote to them that “God, to whom all things are known, holds the heart of the king in his hand and sways our thoughts; thus we invite you exiles of Genoa to return to the bosom of our good graces and . . . intend with sincere affection to provide you with every safety and firm peace under our rule, and to behave toward you, as well as toward our devoted allies, not only like a lord but like a father.”⁸⁷ Fighting continued, however, capped by a significant Guelf-Angevin victory in the outskirts of Genoa in February 1324. Thus when Robert passed through the city the following month on his return voyage from Avignon, pro-Angevin feeling among the city’s Guelfs ran high. According to the Genoese chronicler Giorgio Stella, “some wanted to extend his lordship twenty-five years, some fifty, others for his lifetime and yet others in perpetuity;” in the end they contented themselves with a six-year renewal.⁸⁸

While the gratitude of the Genoese Guelfs indicates their crucial need for Angevin aid, Robert’s delayed intervention in 1318 and his overture to the Ghibellines in 1323 reveal his reservations about taking on the responsibilities of a Guelf champion. It entailed significant

⁸⁶ Housley, *The Italian Crusades*, 26.

⁸⁷ “Deus cui nuda sunt omnia et aperta et qui cor regis in sua manu continet et inclinat quod jugiter in mente nostra et proposito gessimus vos extrinsecos Janue . . . reducere ad benignitatis nostre gracie sinum et . . . intendimus cum sinceris affectibus vobis providere sub nostri regiminis dominio de omni securitate et pace firma, et vos cum devotis aliis tractare non solum dominice sed paterne. . . .” The letter is printed in Gennaro Maria Monti, “Da Carlo I a Roberto di Angiò,” *ASPN*, n.s., 18 (1932), 150–151. According to the chronicler Giorgio Stella, the pope came around to Robert’s approach a few months later: *Annales Genuenses*, 105.

⁸⁸ Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*, 238; Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, 198.

expenditures and, in perennially turbulent Genoa, offered an uncertain outcome. On the other hand, reneging this role incurred the wrath of the pope and risked alienating the Guelf allies in Genoa on whom his influence depended. Thus Robert proposed an alternative persona, in which his behavior could be interpreted not as ambivalence but well-considered reflection, the efforts of a father figure holding himself above fraternal strife.

This persona, expressed in his letter to the Ghibellines in 1323, also appears in a sermon he preached to the Genoese either in 1318–1319 or in 1324.⁸⁹ Here Robert emphasized the two benefits his lordship brought to Genoa: the strength to conquer enemies, and the wisdom to bring peace.⁹⁰ In his strength, Robert was a new David, who was the very symbol of fortitude, as his victories over Goliath and Saul demonstrated. In his wisdom, Robert was another Solomon, who was the symbol not only of wisdom but of peace. “Since he was the wisest of all kings, he calmed his whole realm with peace. Thus he was even called the peaceful king, as is written in 3 Kings chapter 5: *God gave Solomon wisdom, and there was peace between Solomon and Hiram, and both undertook a treaty.* And the prophet Zacharias simultaneously links the truth of wisdom and the unity of peace and concord, saying, *love truth and peace* (Zach. 8).”⁹¹ Christ, he continued (like Robert himself?) possessed both qualities: the virtue to triumph over the devil, and the wisdom to reconcile the people.

The theme of strength had overtones of partisan rhetoric—David against Goliath, Christ against the devil—but Robert emphasized

⁸⁹ The sermon, whose rubric specifies only that it was preached “to the Genoese,” could have been pronounced either during Robert’s first visit from July 1318 to April 1319, or during his second visit of April–May 1324. See Walter Goetz, *König Robert von Neapel* (Tübingen, 1910), 55n.

⁹⁰ See the analysis by Darleen Pryds, *The King Embodies the Word. Robert d’Anjou and the Politics of Preaching* (Leiden, 2000), 57–58, based on the sermon text in Bibl. Ang. 151, fol. 250r–v, inc. “*Dominus virtutem populo suo dabit, dominus benedicit populo suo in pace.*” A second copy of this sermon appears in the same manuscript at fols. 76v–77v.

⁹¹ “Secundum scilicet sapientiam, que intelligitur in pace expressione [referring here to the sermon’s theme, *dominus benedicit populo suo in pace*], invenimus in rege Salamone, et hoc tam precedente re quam subsequente nomine. Cum enim supra omnes reges esset sapientissimus, pace regnum suum universaliter quietavit. Ex quo et rex pacificus fuit dictus de quo ad litteram scribitur 3 Reg 5: *Dedit dominus sapientiam Salomoni et erat pax inter Yram et Salomonem, et percusserunt ambo fedus.* Et ob hoc propheta Zacharias (Zach. 8) veritatem sapientie et unitatem pacis et concordie simul connectat, dicens, *veritatem et pacem tamen diligite.*” Cited from Bibl. Ang. 151, fol. 77r; cf. the English paraphrase by Pryds, *The King Embodies the Word*, 57.

rather its potential for reconciliation. War was undertaken to obtain peace, as Augustine had said, and strength helped bring peace about. His theme of wisdom emphasized reconciliation between enemies even more deeply, and on this note he closed his sermon: when wisdom was born in Christ, the most general peace ensued, and was announced by his angels to men of good will.⁹² Thus in this sermon, as in his letter to the Ghibelline exiles, Robert presented himself less as a Guelf military champion, trampling upon his enemies, than as the harbinger of peaceful reconciliation among foes.

The biblical citation with which he closed this sermon became the theme of another directed to the Genoese: "*Glory to God in the highest and peace on earth to men of good will.*"⁹³ This sermon was preached to celebrate the treaty Robert had contracted with the Guelfs and the exiled Ghibellines of Genoa in September 1331—in thanks for which Genoese ambassadors, having travelled to Naples for the negotiations, offered Robert lordship of the city for the third time.⁹⁴ Robert began by emphasizing that his chosen biblical theme, which was an "angelic song," applied to kingship, for King David (the form and model of kings) was both a composer of such songs, and the executor of the angel's ministry. As the woman in 2 Kings 14 said of David, *just as an angel of the Lord, so my lord king, that he be moved neither by blessing nor by curse.*⁹⁵ Robert thus opened his speech by emphasizing the neutral role of the king, swayed neither by partisans' praise nor by enemies' criticisms. The bulk of the sermon, then, was devoted to expounding the phrase "peace on earth to men of good will." Here Robert listed the benefits to the people brought by the cessation of wars: health of body and soul, confidence and

⁹² "Hec duo etiam fuerunt in christo . . . : virtus superans diabolum; sapientia reconcilians populum. Ex utroque pax sequitur. Nam ex victoria pax oritur, quia secundum Augustinum 'bellum queritur ut pax inveniatur.' Et ex sapientia pax nascitur, unde nata sapientia id est Christo in diebus eius, secundum dictum, pax generalissima est exorta, et per angelos suos bone voluntatis populo nuntiata." Cited by Pryds, *The King Embodies the Word*, 58n.

⁹³ "*Gloria in altissimis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis* (Luc. 2)": Bibl. Ang. 151, fols. 229v–231v.

⁹⁴ The embassy is described by Stella, *Annales Genuenses*, 117–118, who records Robert's emphasis on the evil effects of Genoa's civil war.

⁹⁵ "Non ignoratis, karissime, hoc esse canticum angelicum . . . quod per nos regem ad propositum nostrum congrue assumitur, nam David secundum formam et exemplarem regum legimus compositor cantici. . . . [et] gestorem angeli ministerii. Unde dixit ei mulier chetuites (2 Reg. 14), *sicut angelus dei, sic dominus meus rex, ut nec benedictione nec maledictione moveatur.*" Bibl. Ang. 151, fols. 229v–230r.

security of spirit, abundance of goods, the happiness and joy of concord, power and firmness of conviction, the company of the peaceful; finally, calm and the absence of labor. This enumeration of peace's benefits, along with its supporting biblical quotations, echoed the sermon's chosen theme in presenting peace as the millennial fulfilment of God's design. Robert returned to this motif again in his conclusion, where he expounded the other half of the theme, "glory to God in the highest."

In the meantime, however, other references in the main section of the sermon emphasized the role of the king in accomplishing peace. Under the heading of "health of body and soul," for instance, Robert cited Baruch 3, *learn where there is prudence*, and again Proverbs 3, *my son, keep my commands in your heart, for they [ms: I] will prolong your life many years and bring you peace*.⁹⁶ More emphatic admonitions regarding peace brought this section to a close, and laid even greater emphasis on the king's role. First, Robert warned, one should seek and choose true peace, since it was the property of wisdom and of the king's intellect. Secondly, one should bring this peace about, since it is of the goodness of royal providence, as Holy Scripture attests (in 2 Mach. 4): *without royal foresight, it is impossible to bring about peace*.⁹⁷ Here Robert set out fully the qualities that made him not a Guelf champion, but a champion of all "men of good will": prudence, wisdom, intellect, foresight. He was again a father figure, counselling his sons, the Genoese, to keep his precepts. And like a good father, he sought not to encourage strife by supporting one son against another, but to unite them through his sage counsel and authority.

Here, then, was the alternative persona Robert could offer to replace that of Guelf champion. He might not definitively conquer the enemies of the Genoese Guelfs nor offer all the military aid they requested, but he could do better: he could remove the very need for military intervention, by reconciling opposed factions through his

⁹⁶ "Primum animarum et corporum consistentiam et salutem. Baruch 3: *disce ubi sit prudentia* etc. . . . Et Prov. 3: *fili mi, precepta mea custodiat cor tuum. Longitudinem enim dierum et annos vite et pacem apponent [ms: apponam] tibi*." Ibid., fol. 230r-v.

⁹⁷ "Advertendum est tamen post premissa circa pacem, cuius sit: veram pacem intendere et optare, quia regie intellective et sapientie proprietatis. . . . [et] ipsam pacem efficere et causare, quia regie providentie bonitatis, Sacra Scriptura testante (2 Mach. 4) . . . *sine regali providentia impossibile esse pacem rebus dari*." Ibid., fol. 231r.

mind, not his might. By 1331, when Guelf and Ghibelline envoys actively sought such reconciliation from him, they seemed to agree. For the remaining three years of Robert's signory, government offices were divided between Genoese Guelfs and Ghibellines, and the city maintained internal peace.⁹⁸

The following year, Robert adopted a similar persona to effect larger Guelf-Ghibelline reconciliation: between himself and the Lombard lords seeking his alliance against John of Bohemia.⁹⁹ More friend than father in this context, Robert again presented himself as one capable of seeing beyond narrow factional allegiances. And as in his overture to the Genoese Ghibellines in 1323, the challenge of this strategy was to convince former enemies of his sincerity and trustworthiness. He opened with a demonstration of his own trust in them, glossing his chosen theme, "a new friend is like new wine: when it ages you can drink it with pleasure," as a quadruple tribute to his new allies. It described them in the benevolence with which they associated ("new friend"), in their willingness to undertake discussion ("new wine"), in their experience in confirming and establishing ("when it ages"), and in their swiftness in arbitration, whence a fruitful and good utility followed ("you can drink it with pleasure").¹⁰⁰ Devoting the rest of his sermon to the first two words of his biblical theme, Robert then demonstrated his own commitment to constancy and reliability in friendship. He quoted approvingly what was said in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* about Caesar Augustus: he did not admit a person easily to his friendship, but whomever he did admit, he kept with great constancy as his friend. And as Augustine advised, "keep good faith with your friend in his time of poverty."¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, 200–202; Monti, "Da Carlo I a Roberto," *ASPN*, n.s., 18 (1932), 148–49.

⁹⁹ "Sermo factus pro liga lombardie," inc. "*Amicus novus, vinum novum*": Bibl. Ang. 151, fols. 176r–178r. Robert joined the Lombard (or pan-Italian) League in 1332.

¹⁰⁰ "*Amicus novus vinum novum: veterascet, et cum suavitate bibes illud* (Ecclesiasticus 9). In hiis verbis lunbardie domini quos representant presentes nuntii a sapiente introducuntur quadrupliciter describendi. Ut: benivolentia sociandi . . .; complacentia per tractandi . . .; experientia comprobandi . . .; expedientia arbitrandi, propterea adicitur fructuosa et bona sequens utilitas." Ibid., fol. 176r–v.

¹⁰¹ "Et *Policraticus* li. 2 c. 14 narrat de Cesare Augusto quod non facile aliquem ad amicitiam admittebat et qui semel admiserat, constantissime retinebat. Iuncti ad verbis dicendi, Augustinus in sermone super illo: 'Fidem posside cum proximo tuo in paupertate ipsius.'" Ibid., fol. 177v.

Following these sanguine statements, however, Robert offered a long, rather bitter series of quotations on the fickleness of friends.

As it says in Proverbs 17, *a friend loves at all times, and a brother proves himself in times of trouble*. Moreover, it says ‘at all times,’ since all time is divided into times of prosperity and times of trouble. Ecclesiasticus also speaks of this: *he is a friend when it suits him, and will not stand by you in times of tribulation*. . . . It is a false love that abandons one in adversity. Jerome, in a letter to Augustine, [said] if a friendship ever ends, it never was a true friendship. And Aristotle, discussing in *Ethics*, chapter 8, the three kinds of friendship—namely, the useful, the pleasurable, and the honest—says of the first two that when the reason for their friendship dissolves, so too does the friendship.”¹⁰²

It seems unlikely that Robert meant these words to relate to his own new friendship with the Lombards: it was confidence, not diffidence, he was seeking to cultivate. More likely is that Robert was referring not to the potential dissolution of this new alliance, but the accomplished dissolution of his old one. In 1332, it was the papacy that had shown its “false love” by abandoning Robert in his adversity. By dwelling on his sense of grievance over such abandonment, Robert offered the Lombards a motive for his own transfer of allegiance to them. As he said a moment later, “I love the enemy who does me no harm as I love the friend who does no good.”¹⁰³ Thus Robert presented himself as a ruler perceptive enough to see beyond false appearances, and judicious enough to alter his allegiances in accordance with the true state of things. He then closed his sermon with a rallying cry taken from 2 Kings 3: “*make friendship with me, and my hand will be with you, and I will restore to you all Israel*.”¹⁰⁴

As we have already seen, the bipartisan alliance of the pan-Italian League did not last. Nor did that between the Guelfs and Ghibellines

¹⁰² “Prov. 17: *omni tempore diligit qui amicus est, et frater in angustiis comprobatur*. Dicit autem omni tempore, quia omne tempus dividitur in tempore prosperitatis et adversitatis. De quorum altero dicitur Eccl. 6: *est amicus secundum tempore et non permanebit in tempore tribulationis*. . . . Ficta caritas est qui deserit in adversitate: et Iero. in epistola ad Augustinum, amicitia que aliquando desinit numquam fuit vera amicitia. Et Phs. 8 Ethicorum tractans de triplici specie amicitie—videlicet quia propter utile, delectabile, et honestum—per primis duabus ait, dissolutio propter quod erant amici, dissolvitur et amicitia.” Ibid., fol. 177v.

¹⁰³ “Unde quidam dixit, tamen diligo inimicum qui michi nichil facit mali sicut amicum qui nichil facit boni.” Ibid., fol. 178r.

¹⁰⁴ “Fac mecum amicitias et erit manus mea tecum et reducam ad te universum Israel.” Ibid., fol. 178r.

of Genoa. In February 1335 Genoa erupted yet again in factional strife. Under attack, some Guelfs fled the city for safety, and perhaps exhausted by their long and fruitless efforts, so too did Robert's representatives. The violence in Genoa continued, but Robert's seventeen-year signory here came to an end.

Florence

Robert's ties with Florence were much closer than with Venice or Genoa, both politically and economically. The two powers formed the core of the Guelf faction in Italy, and looked to each other for mutual support. The kingdom also drew heavily on the resources of the Florentine banks, who maintained branches in Naples, in return for which Florence enjoyed trading privileges in the kingdom, especially regarding the export of grain. This mutual dependence gave Florentine-Angevin relations a fraternal cast, and like brothers, their fundamental bond did not preclude frequent tensions and rivalries.

Up to 1315, Florentine and Angevin interests coincided closely, and their relations were generally happy. Soon after Henry VII began his Italian campaign in 1310, Robert paid a month-long visit to the city, settling disputes between the Florentine Guelfs and discussing with them Henry's imminent invasion.¹⁰⁵ In honor of the occasion, the Dominican preacher Remigio de' Girolami preached a sermon in which Robert was hailed as an earthly analog to Christ. His chosen theme was *I am constituted king by God* (Ps. 2:6), which, he observed, "the eternal king and natural son of God can say of himself; [and] truly so can the adoptive son of God and temporal king, lord King Robert, who is here."¹⁰⁶ Though Robert (who was then treating with Henry over a possible marriage alliance) was less decidedly anti-imperial than Florence, he responded to their requests for military reinforcements in the fall and winter of 1311. At the end of Henry's campaign relations between Robert and the Florentines were as good

¹⁰⁵ The royal visit lasted from 30 September to 24 October 1310. See Giovanni Villani, *Cronica*, Book 9, chapter 8.

¹⁰⁶ "*Ego autem constitutus sum rex ab eo* (Ps. 2:6). Verbum istud quod dicit de se rex eternus et filius Dei naturalis, veraciter potest dicere de se filius Dei adoptivus et rex temporalis dominus rex Robertus, qui est hic": Florence, Bibl. Naz., MS G 4 936, fols. 351r–352r. For the dating of the sermon, see E. Panella, "Nuova cronologia remigiana," *AFP* 60 (1990), 262–63.

as at the beginning: Florence offered him a five-year signory of the city in 1313.¹⁰⁷

Once this common threat had passed, however, Robert's direction of Guelf military campaigns in Tuscany sparked intense criticism among the Florentines. Uguccione della Faggiuola, Ghibelline lord of Pisa, launched a campaign against Tuscan Guelf towns in 1314, and though Robert sent an army against Uguccione, led by his own brother Peter, it suffered a terrible defeat at the battle of Montecatini (29 August 1315) in which Peter himself died. The Florentines urged Robert to avenge his brother's death with a fresh attack, and when it failed to materialize, they heaped their scorn on him. It was the king's avarice that had left the Guelf army fatally undersupplied, wrote one critic, and that had brought about the defeat at Montecatini.¹⁰⁸ To Pietro Faytinelli, it was Robert's effeminate cowardice that was to blame for Florentine ills. If Uguccione soon overran all Tuscany, it would be the fault of King Robert—or rather, King Bertha.¹⁰⁹

In the event, Uguccione was overthrown by his own Pisan subjects, and by May 1317 Robert had negotiated a peace between all the major Tuscan towns, Guelf and Ghibelline.¹¹⁰ Peacetime, however, brought out another source of Florentine-Angevin tension: royal domination of the proudly independent city. Florence had been happy enough with Robert's vicar Amiel de Baux, whom the priors themselves had elected captain of war. But in September 1317 Robert replaced him with Nicolas de Joinville, marshal of the kingdom—who, the priors heard, planned to eliminate most of the offices of the Florentine republican government. They scrambled to obtain the revocation of his appointment. Whether Robert intended Nicolas to abolish republican institutions is unclear. His formal instructions do

¹⁰⁷ Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*, 220.

¹⁰⁸ “Il re Ruberto tanta d’avarizia/ per non scemare del colmo della Bruna/ passerà esta fortuna/ e smaltirà il dishonor temendo ’l danno.” (The “Bruna” was a tower that housed the royal treasury.) From the anonymous “Ballad of the Defeat at Montecatini” (1315), printed in N. Sapegno, ed., *Poeti minori del Trecento* (Milan and Naples, 1952), 970–974.

¹⁰⁹ See A.F. Massera, ed., *Sonetti burleschi e realistici dei primi due secoli*, 2 vols. (Bari, 1920), 1: 188 (Sonnet X).

¹¹⁰ The treaty was signed on 12 May 1317 in Robert's castle in Naples by Ghibelline Lucca and Pisa on one side and Guelf Florence, Pistoia, Siena, and San Gimignano on the other. Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*, 227.

not speak of it,¹¹¹ but a sermon he preached in Nicolas' honor is suggestive in its emphasis on royal authority. "*Whomever the king wants to honor will be honored*," the sermon began, and soon thereafter, rather cleverly, echoed the theme Remigio had earlier used for Robert: *I am constituted king*.¹¹² In any case, Robert gave way before Florentine pressure, and his third chosen candidate, Diego de la Rath, left the city's institutional structure unchanged.¹¹³ In the relative peace of the next four years, Florence gradually re-established independence from Robert's vicar in the city, and in 1321 refused his signory altogether.

Florence soon had occasion to regret its decision. Castruccio Castracane, already raiding Florentine territory in 1321, stepped up his assaults over the next four years. In May 1325 he took Pistoia; in September he destroyed a Guelf army and took possession of Fiesole, on the hill just above Florence. Meanwhile, just across the Apennines, Guelf Bologna was also in peril, as Florentines were anxiously aware. Though under Robert's rectorship, Bologna was riven by internal struggles for power, and by September 1325 some rebel families, aided by a Ghibelline ally, seized one of the city's castles. Already weakened by this internal strife, in October the city faced attack by neighboring Ghibelline cities—aided now by the Milanese tyrant Azzo Visconti, who left off his raids in Tuscany to head the Ghibelline army in Romagna. Looming behind this two-pronged Ghibelline assault was the threat of Ludwig of Bavaria. Thanks to his rival's renunciation of imperial claims in September, Ludwig was now free to launch an Italian campaign of his own. In the desperate circumstances of October 1325, Florence and Bologna called on each other, on the Guelf alliance in general, and on King Robert for help.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ The document is cited in Monti, "Da Carlo I a Roberto" (see below, n. 113).

¹¹² "Sermo facta per dominum regem pro domino Nicholao de Ianvilla. *Sic honorabitur quemcumque rex voluerit honorare* (Hest. 6). In hiis verbis notatur . . . [quod] rex psalmista dicebat, *Ego constitutus sum rex ab eo*": Bibl. Ang. 151, fol. 249r-v. Which of Nicolas' promotions this sermon celebrated is not specified, but the echo of Remigio's sermon does suggest a connection to the Florentine signory.

¹¹³ See Monti, "Da Carlo I a Roberto," *ASP*, n.s., 18 (1932), 139–145, who publishes the relevant diplomatic documents: Robert's appointment of Nicolas de Joinville on 9 September, the Florentine priors' swift protest of 19 September, and their satisfied recognition of the appointment's revocation on 6 October 1317.

¹¹⁴ The threats facing both Florence and Bologna in 1325 were recounted by Giovanni Villani, *Cronica*, Book 9, chapters 319–327; for a modern account see Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*, 241–247.

This appears to be the most likely context in which Robert preached his sermon to “the ambassadors of Bologna and of Florence, sent by the legate of Lombardy and by their own communes.”¹¹⁵ Darleen Pryds has noted that the main themes of the sermon (maternal nourishment, discipline) and its placating tone accord with Robert’s general policy of appeasement and deferral with regard to Italian envoys, and would have been appropriate on any of the numerous occasions when Florentine and Bolognese ambassadors approached Robert for aid.¹¹⁶ Yet within its generally pacific tone is a more unusual note of injured vindication, one that evokes the specific circumstances of the mid-1320s.

Behold your mother and your brothers was Robert’s theme, “and these words are properly to be referred to us, in which words two things are shown. First, a representation that is humble, yet deserving of honor: *behold your mother*. Second, an amiable and useful exhibition that is worthily to be accepted and rewarded: *and your brothers*.” As later comments in the sermon make clear, this biblical passage could be “referred” to Robert in the sense that it could properly be addressed to him: he was beholding his “mother and brothers,” the ambassadors. If one recalls the original context of this biblical quotation, it becomes apparent that Robert’s chosen theme expressed a certain diffidence. The passage in Matthew, Chapter 12 that Robert cited was an object lesson in false and true kinship: “Who is my mother, who are my brothers?” Jesus had demanded, and refused the mother and brothers awaiting him in favor of his truer, spiritual brethren.

Robert did not dwell on the criticism implicit in his chosen theme; instead he reassured his audience with professions of the honor and acceptance they deserved. In the second half of the sermon, however—in the passage where he specified the symbolism of “mother and brothers”—he invoked a second biblical story with similarly critical overtones:

Regarding the second point, where it is noted that amiable and friendly exhibition is to be accepted and rewarded (as the phrase *and your brothers* is added): it should be known that we have a simile and figure for

¹¹⁵ “Collatio quam fecit rex sicilie ad ambassiatores bononie et thuscie missos per legatum lumbardie et ipsorum comunia,” inc. “*Ecce mater tua et fratres tui* (Mt. 12)”: Bibl. Ang. 151, fols. 53v–55r.

¹¹⁶ Pryds, *The King Embodies the Word*, 55. The sermon is edited in Goetz, *König Robert*, 69–70.

this in Genesis 49, where we read how Joseph's father Jacob and his brothers came to him in Egypt. And just so, not only the Holy Church your mother, but even the reverend father legate of Lombardy, and these communes, come in the [form of] the present ambassadors.¹¹⁷

The passage offers, first of all, Robert's explanation of his biblical theme: the "mother" was holy Mother Church, and the "brothers" were the Guelf towns. The passage also offers a new biblical parallel: Robert's Florentine-Bolognese brothers, along with their "father" the papal legate, had come to Robert like Joseph's brothers came to him in Egypt. This second allusion doubtless served several functions. It created a role among the "mother and brothers" for the papal legate, now identified with the patriarch Jacob, and it referred in a general way to the ambassadorial context in which Robert spoke. Yet like the sermon's theme itself, this biblical reference suggested a particular relationship between Robert and his interlocutors. Joseph's brothers had scorned and abandoned him, but with God's help he had flourished; years later, in desperate need, they came to beg assistance from the sibling they had wronged. If the passage from the Gospel of Matthew introduced the possibility of false kinship, the passage from Genesis reinforced this theme. It would not have been appropriate to a Bolognese-Florentine embassy during Henry VII's campaign, when neither city had in any way abandoned or wronged Robert; if anything Bologna and Florence were more loyal to the Guelf cause than Robert himself. In 1325, however, both cities had "wronged" him: Florence by rejecting his signory, Bolognese families by flouting his rectorship to seize control of the city for themselves. Now, like Joseph's brothers, they were turning to him in desperation for aid.

Robert, for his part, acted the part of Joseph, who after an initial pretense of severity showed them the love and generosity they should have showed to him. Thus Robert closed his sermon with a lecture on the meaning of "brother", and promptly acquiesced to their pleas for aid. Guelf forces arrayed under the banners of the

¹¹⁷ "Quantum ad secundum principale, ubi notatur exhibitio amabilis et utilis dum acceptanda sed etiam recompensanda cum additur *et fratres tui*: sciendum quod Gen. 49 habemus pro hoc similitudinem et figuram, ubi legitur qualiter Jacob pater et fratres Iosep venerunt ad ipsum in Egyptum. Sic non solum sancta ecclesia mater vestra, sed et reverendus pater lombardie legatus et talia comunia in presentibus ambassiatoribus advenerunt." MS cit. (at n. 115), fol. 54r-v.

papal legate, of Robert, and of the Church reversed the Ghibelline assault in Emilia-Romagna.¹¹⁸ As for Florence, it offered the Angevins renewed lordship of the city, which Robert accepted on behalf of his son, Charles of Calabria.

With this second Angevin signory of Florence, however, the old issues of Angevin protection and domination reemerged, and put Robert's image as a faithful brother to the test. For one thing, Robert's son Charles of Calabria now obtained the kind of untrammelled authority the Florentines had resisted in 1317: a signory of ten years and "powers unequalled by any previous lord."¹¹⁹ Even so, he did not provide the protection for which the Florentines had been willing temporarily to sacrifice their independence. He did not set foot in the city for the first seven months of his signory, allowing it to be overseen by his representatives. And in 1328, as the army of Ludwig of Bavaria neared, Charles abandoned Florence and made for the Neapolitan border, in order to defend the kingdom from possible invasion. Both the financial burden of his signory and its ineffective military protection made Charles very unpopular in the city. As Giovanni Villani observed, if he hadn't died suddenly in the fall of 1328, the Florentines would have taken up arms against him.¹²⁰ Despite the plentiful Guelf rhetoric issuing from the Angevin court during Ludwig's campaign, Robert's policy with regard to Florence revealed his own contribution to their diffident relations.

In the last decade of his reign, Robert sought to repair relations with the city by again adopting a fraternal persona. Florence suffered a devastating flood in November 1333, the kind of natural disaster that contemporaries generally interpreted as divine chastisement. As Giovanni Villani recorded, Florentines wondered if it meant that their enemies, the Pisans, were more favored by God than they.¹²¹ Robert responded by sending them a long, consoling letter that addressed this very concern. "It does not behoove us, whose royal condition requires that we preserve the truth, to play the flattering friend, nor to question the justice of God by saying that you are

¹¹⁸ Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*, 247.

¹¹⁹ Marvin Becker, *The Decline of the Commune*, vol. 1 of *Florence in Transition* (Baltimore, 1967), 84.

¹²⁰ "E di certo, se el duca non fosse morto, non potea guari durare, ch'e' fiorentini avrebbono fatta novità contra la sua signoria e rubellati da lui." Giovanni Villani, *Cronica*, Book 10, ch. 107.

¹²¹ Giovanni Villani, *Cronica*, Book 11, ch. 135.

innocent," he began. But, Robert continued, lest he be judged a harsh friend and gainsay the merits of the Florentines, he would note that Holy Scripture not only reprimands the presumptuous, but comforts the afflicted.¹²² Perhaps enemies would judge the Florentines to be in greater sin than they themselves, and therefore more odious to God. But that was not the case. God reproved those he loved: did he not love Job, whom he tested, more than Job's friends, whom he left alone? Had he not chastised the saints and patriarchs too?

Thus Robert eased Florentine fears, and reinforced their sense of pride and righteousness. "Do not be amazed if God sees in you the graces and prerogatives of virtue that we speak of; and having tested them, he rewards and crowns you, who are known to have always been the arm of the Church in Italy and the noble foundation of all faith." Indeed, "with what riches, luxuries, power, and citizens God has ennobled your city, and exalted you above all your neighbors, indeed even above remote cities, without equal," Robert wrote: Florence could be compared to a flowering tree, whose branches stretched to the very edges of the world.¹²³

Despite the many past tensions between Robert and Florence, the king's letter had the desired effect. To Giovanni Villani, the king's solicitude made him not a brother but a father. "King Robert, friend and (through faith and devotion to us) our lord, commiserated with us with all his heart, and like a father to his son admonished and comforted us in his letter," he wrote. So impressed was he with Robert's letter that he translated it into Tuscan and copied it, in full, into his chronicle of the city, "for perpetual remembrance, so that to our successors may be revealed his mercy, and the sincere

¹²² "Non ci conviene a noi, il quale per reale condizione la veritade ha a conservare, d'essere amico lusinghiere, né di riprendere la giustizia di Dio, dicendo che voi siate innocenti. . . . ma acciochè per quelle parole ch'avemo dette di sopra, non siamo giudicato grave amico, e acciochè non inghanniamo i meriti delle vostre virtùdi . . . attendendo alla divina scriptura la quale non pur riprende le presuntuosi per ammaestrargli, ma addolcisce gli afflitti . . ." Copied into G. Villani's *Cronica*, Book 11, chapter 3.

¹²³ "Non maraviglia, se la grazie e prerogative di virtùdi, che noi dicemmo, Iddio riguardò in voi, le quali egli esamini; e provate, guiderdoni e coroni voi, i quali siete conosciuti sempre essere stati in Italia chiaro braccio della Chiesa e nobile fondamento di tutta la fede. . . . Quanto in ricchezze, in morbidezze, in potentia e cittadini Iddio la vostra città nobilitò, scampò, e sopra tutte le vicine, anzi remote cittade, senza comparazione esaltò, sicch'ella puote essere assomigliata ad ornato arbore fronzato e fiorito, dilatanti i rami suoi infino a' termini del mondo." Ibid.

love that the king felt for our commune.”¹²⁴ If in the past Florentines had criticized Robert for the cowardice and avarice that made him neglect the city’s military needs, by late 1333 his perfect solicitude was being trumpeted among the citizenry.

In 1342, Robert had an opportunity to assuage the Florentine’s other longstanding concern: the fear that Angevin lordship would spell the demise of Florentine republican liberty. The city, again threatened by Ghibelline neighbors and in need of outside leadership, turned now to Walter of Brienne. Walter had served as Charles of Calabria’s representative in 1326, in the months before Charles’ own arrival in the city, and had made a good impression on the Florentines largely by leaving the unpopular but necessary business of financial reform for Charles himself to effect.¹²⁵ Thus as Charles himself became ever less loved by the Florentines, Walter appeared an ever more attractive alternative: “he knew how to rule sagely,” commented Giovanni Villani, “and was a wise and agreeable lord.”¹²⁶ In 1342, however, the positions were reversed: it would fall to Walter to undertake the Florentines’ customary plea for financial reform, while Robert, free of responsibilities, could adopt the kind of rhetoric that the Florentines most appreciated.

Indeed, Robert’s letter of 1342, addressed to Walter of Brienne but known to a larger Florentine audience, reads like a list of lessons learned from the mistakes of Charles’ signory in the 1320s:

Neither wisdom nor virtue . . . has made you lord of the Florentines, but their great discord and grievous dislocation, whence you are more esteemed. Considering the love they have for you, believing themselves to rest in your arms, the way that you should adopt, if you want to govern them, is this. Retain the people who previously ruled, and govern yourself by their counsel rather than governing them by yours. Strengthen justice, and if they governed themselves through seven [representatives], under you let them be governed by nine. We have understood that you should find those rectors in their house—restore them;

¹²⁴ “Re Ruberto, amico, e per fede e devozione di noi nostro signore, si dolse di noi di tutto suo cuore e come il padre da al figliuolo per suo sermone per lui dittato ci mandò ammonendo e confortando. . . la quale [pistola] in nostra opera ci pare degna di mettere in nota verbo a verbo a perpetua memoria, acciochè ai nostri successori . . . sia manifesta la sua clemenza e sincero amore che il detto re portava al nostro comune.” Giovanni Villani, *Cronica*, Book 11, ch. 2.

¹²⁵ Becker, *Decline of the Commune*, 85.

¹²⁶ “La seppe reggere saviamente, e fu signore savio e di gentile aspetto”: G. Villani, *Cronica*, Book 9, ch. 351.

and I would live in the palace where our son lived. And if you do not do these things, it seems to us that your wellbeing cannot last for more than a short time.¹²⁷

In fact, Walter's signory was very short-lived. Elected in May 1342, he was overthrown fourteen months later; Giovanni Villani spoke bitterly of the "peril and undoing of our city due to his tyranny."¹²⁸ Robert's respectful letter, however, was cherished much longer: Giovanni Villani copied it into his chronicle, and it is preserved as well, in a slightly different version, in a fifteenth-century manuscript along with other texts of Florentine history and of its great literary and political heroes.¹²⁹

Prudence

In his diplomatic sermons and letters to Italian audiences, Robert presented himself under a variety of guises. He was the virtuous king wronged by his disloyal Guelf allies; a dispassionate, paternal arbiter who rose above and healed faction; and a lord full of brotherly solicitude, forgiveness, and respect. These roles sometimes explained, sometimes compensated for his political actions. They could be successful in the short run. Robert was embraced by the Genoese factions seeking reconciliation, welcomed by the Lombard Ghibellines despite his earlier antagonism, and praised by Florentine observers like Giovanni Villani who had earlier criticized his rule. But the

¹²⁷ "Non senno, non virtù . . . l'a fatto signore de' fiorentini, malla loro grande discordia e il loro greve storto, dichè se' loro più tenuto. Considerando l'amore che t'anno, credendosi riposare nelle tue braccia, il modo che ai attenere a volergli ghovernare sie questo. Chetti ritenghi chol popolo che prima reggeva, et ghovernati per loro chonsiglio, non loro per tuo. Fortificha giustitia et come per loro si ghovernavano per sette, fa che per te si ghovernino per nove. Abbiamo inteso che traesti quelli rettori della chasa della loro habitatione; rimetterenegli. Et habiterei nel palagio ove habitava nostro figlio. Et se questo non farai non ci pare che tua salute si potesse stendere innanzi per ispatio di molto tempo." I cite from the shorter and slightly different version found in MS Vat. Chigi L VI 229: see below, n. 129.

¹²⁸ Becker, *Decline of the Commune*, 149, 157; G. Villani, *Cronica*, Book 11, chapter 143.

¹²⁹ G. Villani, *Cronica*, Book 11, chapter 4; MS Vat. Chigi L VI 229, where Robert's letter appears on fol. 172r. Other contents of this manuscript include Giovanni Boccaccio's letter to Pino de Rossi, Petrarch's letter to the Angevin official Niccolò Acciaiuoli, documents relating to the fifteenth-century Florentine signory of Stefano Porciari, Leonardo d'Arezzo's biography of Dante, and similar texts all pertaining to Florentine history of the Trecento and Quattrocento.

politics of Italy were too complex and too changeable to allow any one policy to hold for long.

Thus if Robert espoused any one overarching policy, it was to act with prudence. Strictly speaking—that is, according to Aristotle, whom both Robert and his supporters cited—prudence was simply “acting rightly,” and hence was the virtue most appropriate to political action. In a short treatise on royal virtues, Robert’s indefatigable publicist François de Meyronnes defined prudence at some length. “Just as those who teach others require a greater knowledge, so those who rule others in human affairs require a greater prudence,” he observed, and illustrated his point with a military example. A simple soldier needed only to possess the art of fighting, a basically mechanical action. A leader who directed the soldiers under him, however, “requires prudence, since he has to guide inferiors. For it pertains to prudence to direct particular actions.” Thus, François concluded, “a person rules well when he directs his subjects according to right reason: this is prudence.”¹³⁰ Robert made a similar observation in a sermon putatively about mercy and justice, but more generally about royal virtues. “Our actions will be right when they are in accord with their origins. And this [is achieved] through prudence, which is the right understanding of doable things (‘Ethics,’ chapter 6). Indeed, according to Aristotle in Book Three of ‘Politics,’ this virtue of prudence is particular to princes, while other virtues are general, since from this virtue come those actions which pertain to the king and prince: taking counsel, judging, instructing.”¹³¹

As Robert’s final remarks indicate, prudence was not only acting rightly, but acting thoughtfully, after careful deliberation, and usu-

¹³⁰ “Sicut qui docet alios in disciplinis indiget maori scientia, ita qui dirigit alios in actibus humanis indiget maiori prudentia (fol. 180r). . . . In exercitu: est enim ibi primo reperire militem simplicem qui nullum habet sub se, et ille indiget virtute artis ad pugnandum, quia pugna est operatio quasi mechanica. Secundo ibi princeps specialissimus qui nullum habet sub se . . . sed simplices milites tantum, quia ille indiget virtute prudentie quia habet dirigere inferiores. Ad prudentiam autem pertinet dirigere actus particulares. . . . Unusquisque bene principatur quando subditos bene regulat secundum rectam rationem. Sed talis est prudentia (fol 182r).” From his treatise “Utrum principi terreno sit necessaria peritia litterarum,” Vat. Chigi B V 69, fols. 179r–182v.

¹³¹ “Ideo operationes nostre recte erunt si huic suo principio concordent. Et hoc per prudentia que est recta ratio agibilium, 6 Ethicorum. Hec enim virtus prudentie secundum Philosophum 3 Politice est propria principibus, cetera autem communes, quia huius virtutis et consilii, iudicare, precipere (6 Ethic.), qui actus proprie ad regem et principem pertinent.” In the sermon inc. “*Misericordia et veritas custodiunt regem* . . . (Prov. 20:28):” Bibl. Ang. 150, fol. 65v.

ally in concert with advisors. And he sought the same careful reflection in these advisors that he favored in himself. So he emphasized in a sermon preached in the context of a particularly complex and arduous diplomatic negotiation. Robert signalled his uncertainty about the affair in his chosen theme, from Paul's letter to the Philippians: "*I know not what to choose; I am torn between the two.*"¹³² Such uncertainty had three undesirable effects, which councillors could help to alleviate. To combat anxiety, they should, "in reviewing this matter, be to us as faithful friends, perceptive and discreet through their benevolent prudence;" to combat ambiguity, they should "insist with us on discovering the truth, whence Bernard . . . : 'choose for your council such men as possess prudence and benevolence.'" Against ineffectuality, they should "assist us in accomplishing what is good as well as useful and appropriate."¹³³ The sermon is quite characteristic of Robert's style: rather than take immediate action he preferred to reflect, weigh options, seek advice.

And the advice he sought was that of other reflective men, who were expected to mirror the king's prudence and manifest it in themselves. In a sermon honoring a newly promoted official, he noted first "the prudence of the king's rectors, which guides them by means of deduction" and secondly "the wisdom of the king's advisors," which made them worthy of examining issues. Third he called attention to his own gratitude, for "the justice of the king's rewards . . . gives back through distribution;" fourth he emphasized the overall result of their collaboration, that is, "the intelligence of the king's gifts, which proceed by means of reflection."¹³⁴ In elaborating his

¹³² "Sermo proponendus per dominum Regem Sicilie suis consiliariis super quodam negocio scrupuloso non modicum et implexo," inc. "*Ecce quid eligam ignoro; coartor autem e duobus* (Phi. 1)": Bibl. Ang. 151, fols. 40r–44v.

¹³³ "Ex primo [anxietas], angustatur affectus et spiritus se involvens. Secundo [ambiguitas] obfuscatur intellectus vel animus nesciens. Tertio [neutralitas] evacuat effectus vel opus non sequens. . . . [Contra] primum, existere nobis in recreationem rei tamquam fideles amici perspicaces et districti, per benevolentiam prudentiam. [Contra] secundum, insistere nobiscum ad declarationem veri, unde Bernardus . . . : Elige ad consilium tuum tales in quibus sit prudentia et benivolentia. [Contra] tertium, assistere nobis ad executionem boni tamquam utiles et accomodi." Ibid., fol. 40r.

¹³⁴ "In primo actenditur regis prudentia rectorum deductione dirigens; in secundo discernitur regis sapientia consiliorum examinatione eligens; in tertio propenditur regis iustitia premiorum distributione retribuens; in quarto concluditur regis intelligentia meritorum ponderatione procedens." In the sermon inc. "*Hodie incipiam exaltare* (Jos. 3:7)": Bibl. Ang. 151, fol. 191r.

points, Robert called particular attention to the need to be patient and await the proper moment for action. "Firstly, therefore, we wait for the opportune time or the congruence of the moment. . . . It behooves people who act to wait for the right moment, which is true in medicine as in governance. Thus Ecclesiastes 3 (:1), *To every thing there is a season, and time to every purpose under heaven*, or again Ecclesiastes 8 (:6), *to every purpose there is a time and an opportunity*."¹³⁵ The result of such strategic patience, however, had to be a purposeful decision: "what is started must be finished. On this point, 1 Kings 3 [:12], in the words said by God to Samuel: *when I begin, I will also make an end*. Thus the king, who holds the place of God, must begin those things which are worthy of conclusion and completion. . . . But for this, three virtues are required: the intelligence to see present or principal things; the foresight to anticipate final things; and the power to undertake the means."¹³⁶

Robert made the same points in a diplomatic sermon preached to the king of France. He took as his theme 2 Maccabees 4, a passage he cited as well when forging the treaty between Genoese Guelfs and Ghibellines in 1331: *Without royal foresight, it is impossible to bring about peace*. "And two things are revealed in these words," he explained: "first, the initial or intellectual insight—the virtue of prudence and caution; second, the final or general effect—the fruit of fertile peace."¹³⁷ Prudence consisted in three things: intelligence regarding the present, memory of the past, and foresight of the future. It was exemplified in the biblical patriarchs, from Noah with his divine foreknowledge of the Flood to Solomon, whose supreme wisdom brought peace to his realm. Having thus expounded prudence, Robert then turned to providence, in the sense here of providing or provisioning. He con-

¹³⁵ "Primo ergo attendimus oportunam tempus seu congruitatem temporis. . . . Oportet operantes ad tempus attendere, quemadmodum in medicinali habet et gubernativa. Ideo Eccl. 3, *Omnia tempus habent et suis spatiis transeunt universa sub sole*. Eodem Eccl. 8, *omni negotio tempus est et oportunitas*." Ibid., fol. 191r.

¹³⁶ "Idem etiam quem decet incipere debet perficere, pro quo scribitur 1 Reg. 3, dictum a Deo Samueli, *Incipiam et complebo*. Sic rex qui locum Dei tenet ita debet incipere ut id valeat perficere et complere. . . . Sed ad hoc debet concurrere triplex virtus: intelligentia que videt presentia vel principia; providentia que providet ultima; potentia que promovet media." Ibid., fol. 191r-v.

¹³⁷ "Coram rege francie," inc. "*Sine regali providentia impossibile est pacem rebus dari*": Bibl. Ang. 151, fols. 77v–78r. Cf. "sermo in promulgatione pacis inter ipsum et intrinsecos ex parte una et extrinsecos Janue ex parte altera," Bibl. Ang. 151, fol. 231r.

cluded, then, with a summation of the virtues of prudence and providence: thanks to prudence, the evils wrought by a false peace were avoided; thanks to providence, the benefits of a true peace followed.

In sum, if there was an organizing principle behind the frequent tergiversations of Robert's imperial and Italian policy, it was prudence: the ability to distinguish false and true friends, to adapt to changing circumstances, to assess before acting, or not to act when diplomacy might suffice. It was not a strategy that pleased everyone; given the conflicting demands of the papacy, the Italian cities, and Robert's own realm, perhaps no strategy could have. Robert's accomplishment was to amplify his political options without permanently alienating his old Guelf allies. Indeed, for all its apparent hesitation and ambivalence, Robert's Italian policy—and the positive images in which he presented it—marked a transition in the Angevins' role in Italy: from partisan champion to flexible arbiter, from warrior to strategist.

In this prudence Robert could follow the path already marked out by his father, Charles II, who regularly invoked the virtues of a "circumspect prudence, perceiving from afar," and noted that "perceptive foresight, carefully examining the future, discusses all things, prepares what is opportune, and points out what will occur."¹³⁸ Charles II's preference for peaceful compromise over war, particularly regarding Sicily, marked a significant break from the aggressive strategies of the dynasty's founder, Charles I, and was doubtless a disappointment to some observers. Indeed, his ignominious capture and imprisonment by the Aragonese in 1284 cast a certain shadow over his reign. In continuing a policy marked more by diplomacy and financial husbandry than war, Robert too encountered a certain amount of grumbling dissatisfaction. If Tuscans lamented his avarice toward Guelf allies, the Roman Anonymous criticized the same even in his most aggressive enterprise, against Sicily: "when this king heard the news that five hundred of his army had been lost in the battle, he responded, 'five hundred *carlini* [an Angevin

¹³⁸ "Circumspecta prudentia principis procul aspiciens . . .;" "providentia perspicax futura maxime actente conspiciens omnia discutit oportuna preparat et evenitura denotat." For these and other examples from the royal registers, see Lorenz Enderlein, *Die Grablagen des Hauses Anjou in Unteritalien. Totenkult und Monumente 1266–1343* (Worms am Rhein, 1997), 50n.

coin] have been lost.”¹³⁹ Yet the successes of his strategy were apparent even to critics, and uncertain how to characterize it, they reverted to more traditional, martial explanation. The Roman Anonymous followed his barb about Robert’s avarice with the statement that “this king was so industrious that during his life imperial forces were unable to invade the kingdom.”¹⁴⁰ The preacher Federico Franconi, in his funeral sermon for the king in 1343, recalled that “he defended the kingdom with power against the emperor Henry . . . [and] against the Bavarian. And in short, by his strength and power he defended his subjects, put his enemies to flight, and showed that he was a man to be feared.”¹⁴¹

Though observers sometimes criticized and sometimes misrepresented Robert’s strategy, the changing climate of Italian politics favored his approach. As the old ideology of faction came to seem increasingly bankrupt and the diplomatic sophistication exemplified by Venice gained in prestige, Robert’s prudence appeared less hapless, more effective and astute. The days of the great thirteenth-century conquerors had passed. Indeed, even those conquerors had met with notable failures, and the fruitless end of three imperial campaigns during Robert’s reign had proven the point further. Thus the *arrière pensée* of Robert’s policy, as Giuseppe Galasso has observed, was a recognition that “in an Italian situation of stabilized and equilibrated powers, the real force of the various protagonists could not be overlooked.”¹⁴² By the second decade of the fourteenth century it was clear, though not all would see it, that Italy had become a theater of relative rather than absolute victories, in which different virtues and tactics were required.

By the fifteenth century most did see this. Unable to subdue one another completely, the Italian states of the Quattrocento began to conceive of their relationship as one of balanced powers, in which

¹³⁹ “Questo re, quando li iogneva la novella che diceva, ‘cinquecento dell’oste toa sono perduti nella vattaglia,’ risponneva e diceva, ‘cinquecento carlini so’ perduti.’” *Anonimo Romano. Cronica*, ed. G. Porta (Milan, 1979), 61.

¹⁴⁰ “Questo re fu tanto industrioso che forza de imperio in soa vita non se poteo accostare a sio renno”: *ibid.*

¹⁴¹ “Defendit potenter regnum ab Herrico imperatore . . . [et] contra Bavarum. Et breviter, eius potentia et potestate subditos defendit, inimicos fugavit, et se metuentum ostendit.” The passage is cited and translated by David d’Avray, *Death and the Prince. Memorial Preaching Before 1350* (Oxford, 1994), 110–111.

¹⁴² Giuseppe Galasso, *Il Regno di Napoli. Il Mezzogiorno angioino e aragonese (1266–1494)* (Turin, 1992), 122.

“campaigns became more and more a series of manoeuvres for political advantage” and “success now depended less upon the brutal shock of force than upon vigilant and agile politics.” So Garrett Mattingly observed in his classic *Renaissance Diplomacy* over a half century ago, holding up the famous Peace of Lodi and the rise of resident ambassadors as the two hallmarks of a new Italian approach that would spread throughout Europe in the sixteenth century.¹⁴³ Recent scholarship, though more focused on the complexities and ambiguities within the Italian states, has still confirmed the basic validity of this classic interpretation.¹⁴⁴ Concomitant with this new approach, according to a longstanding historiographical tradition, was a new political philosophy associated with Machiavelli and, more recently, with fifteenth-century Neapolitan theorists—a philosophy of hard-headed realism that embraced “the necessity and autonomy of politics” and that recognized the importance of public image, of appearing rather than being, for maintaining power and popular support.¹⁴⁵ It is in light of this Renaissance theory and practice of politics that Robert’s method makes most sense. Even before the Black Plague, and in a monarchy rather than a northern city-state, we can perceive many of the later age’s characteristic strategies for political survival.

¹⁴³ Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (New York, 1955; repr. 1970), 162.

¹⁴⁴ See Daniela Frigo’s introduction to *Politics and Diplomacy in Early Modern Italy. The Structure of Diplomatic Practice*, ed. D. Frigo, trans. A. Belton (Cambridge, Eng., 2000), for fuller bibliography on the classic studies and acknowledgement that “many of the findings of traditional historiography are still valid today,” as well as an outline of the new questions and approaches of recent scholars.

¹⁴⁵ On Machiavelli, a historiographical tradition introduced by Benedetto Croce has been continued by Federico Chabod and others: see A. P. d’Entrèves’ introduction to *Machiavelli and the Renaissance*, by Federico Chabod, trans. D. Moore (London, 1958), esp. xi–xiii, and Jerry Bentley, *Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples* (Princeton, 1987), 138–194, who reviews bibliography on Machiavelli before introducing slightly earlier exponents of his political realism among fifteenth-century Neapolitan theorists. Machiavelli’s comments on appearance over reality are well known: cf. *The Prince*, chapter 18, “[The prince] should appear, upon seeing and hearing him, to be all mercy, all faithfulness, all integrity, all kindness, all religion. And there is nothing more necessary than to seem to possess this last quality. . . . Everyone sees what you seem to be, few perceive what you are.” Cited from the edition of P. Bondanella and M. Musa, *The Portable Machiavelli* (New York, 1979), 135.

CHAPTER SIX

WISDOM

Robert's efforts to personify ideal kingship encompassed a variety of qualities: he was a generous patron, just toward his subjects, prudent in his politics, pious toward God. A thread running through all his spheres of activity, however, was his particular interest in matters intellectual. This was the signature "style" of Robert's rule, and became the royal quality with which he was most identified. That intellectual quality involved a wide knowledge of the medieval curriculum—the seven liberal arts, medicine, philosophy, and law—but it was generally identified as wisdom, with all the sacred connotations that term held. For Robert and his supporters, it was more than a characteristic inflection to his internal governance, political strategy, piety, and patronage. It was the source of all his other ruling virtues, the very essence of ideal kingship. In portraying Robert as wise they could draw on a long European tradition of lauding royal wisdom. But the meanings that they attached to wisdom and the emphasis they placed on it were particular to their age. If wisdom summed up Robert's rule, it also reflected a peculiar moment in European conceptions of good governance. Though general social trends—a growing literacy, the increasingly bureaucratic nature of governance—pointed in the direction more intellectual Robert took, his ruling style nevertheless met with resistance from observers who wished him to exemplify more traditional princely virtues. Thus in addition to his personal inclination toward study and theorists' increasing valorization of its role in good government, he may have been prompted to persist in this persona by a more immediate need for the kind of legitimation wisdom could offer. By the time of his death, as we shall see in the conclusion, public opinion had swayed to his side. The particular circumstances of his rule and the particular individuals who comprised his court thus emerge as a kind of laboratory in which was tested a new style of governance proffered under a venerable name.

Robert the Wise: Royal Practice and Publicity

As the evidence discussed in foregoing chapters will have indicated, Robert's deep interest in learning inflected every aspect of his ruling activity. He was the principal architect of the Angevin royal library, and overseeing it, by sending out officials in search of manuscripts and assigning to scribes the copying of particular texts, appears to have been among his favorite pastimes. His generous patronage of learned men was known as far away as England by the second decade of his reign, and when not reading he spent time in the company of such men. This gathering together of erudition, living and textual, was the essential basis of his reputation as wise. Robert's contemporaries recognized this too. We may recall the example of Paolino da Venezia, a friar whose career Robert promoted and with whom he is known to have held long conversations: by reading the world history that Paolino dedicated to him, according to a contemporary copyist of the text, Robert was able to "speak to all ambassadors about the conditions of their lands and regions as if he had been there, wherefore they were rightly amazed by his wisdom."¹

Robert's writings, as much as his conversation, demonstrated his interest in and mastery of diverse fields of study. His theological and liturgical works, which included an office for the translation of his brother Louis' remains, a *questio* on apostolic poverty, and a treatise on the Beatific Vision, were certainly related to his reputation for piety, but they were more pointedly demonstrations of his erudition. Robert's *De evangelica paupertate*, for instance, bears little trace of the passionate feelings and (for Franciscans) dire consequences surrounding the debate over absolute apostolic poverty. Indeed, before Robert even discussed Christian authorities, who were uniquely relevant to the issue of heresy, he reflected on the theme of poverty among classical pagan writers, and on the purely philosophical or moral virtues

¹ In a letter addressed to Charles of Calabria (d. 1328), Marino Sanudo the Elder mentioned the long conversations that he, Paolino, and King Robert held. These must have taken place in Avignon, where all three were present in the 1320s, because Marino did not visit Naples until after 1328. A fourteenth-century copy of Paolino's *Historia satyrica* noted that another copy belonged to King Robert, "per quem librum omnibus ambaxatoribus dicebat condiciones terrarum et regionum earum ac si ibi stetisset, unde de eius sapientia merito mirabantur." See A. Ghinato, *Fr. Paolino da Venezia, vescovo di Pozzuoli* (Rome, 1951), 56, 59.

of austerity in the antique world. Thus he could display his knowledge of such figures as Seneca, Diogenes, and Valerius Maximus before asserting the superior nature of Christian poverty.² Such erudition made Robert a specially competent judge, as the king himself suggested in the treatise: “a judge who has been well educated in all things is truly and properly a wise man, according to the terms of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, since he understands with certainty all things, even difficult ones, and their cause.” In this passage Robert was ostensibly praising the pope’s capacity for judgment, but his reference to Aristotle and his insistence that “one judges well who well understands human affairs” alluded aptly to his own demonstrated knowledge of classical philosophy. Robert strengthened this association in his next, biblical citation: “*All of Israel heard the judgment which the king rendered and they stood in awe of the king because they perceived that the wisdom of God was in him to render justice.*” As Darleen Pryds has observed about this passage, “Robert acknowledges the role of the pope as a wise judge, but he does so along side the example of the wise royal judge, to whom Robert was so often likened.”³ Robert’s other theological treatise, on the Beatific Vision, served as a second showcase of his learning. Indeed, as we saw in Chapter Three, the question turned into a sort of intellectual competition between Robert and John XXII, and served the king as a diplomatic weapon.⁴ When Robert sent a copy of the treatise to the new pope Benedict XII in 1335, he called particular attention to its erudition: in its own modest way, he suggested, it recalled Aristotle’s dictum that wide learn-

² The treatise is analyzed in Giovanni Battista Siragusa, *L’ingegno, il sapere, e gli intendimenti di Roberto d’Angiò* (Palermo, 1891), 131–138; Sigismund Brettle, “Ein Traktat des Königs Robert von Neapel ‘De evangelica paupertate,’” in *Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der mittleren und neueren Geschichte und ihrer Hilfswissenschaften* (Münster i. W., 1925), 200–208; and Darleen Pryds, *The King Embodies the Word. Robert d’Anjou and the Politics of Preaching* (Leiden, 2000), 88–91.

³ Pryds, *The King Embodies the Word*, 88–89, who cites the relevant passage: “Quisque bene iudicat qui bene novit de hominibus. . . . Iudex simpliciter autem qui circa omnia bene eruditus est vere ipse proprie sapiens secundum conditiones Philosophi [ms: Prologi] Methaphysicorum quia scit omnia et difficilia per certitudinem et causam, etc. De hac immensa sapientia ad iudicium faciendum scribatur de Salomone III Reg. [3:28]: *Audivit* [ms: Deludunt] *omnis in Israhel* [ms: in similiter] *iudicium quod iudicaret rex, timuerunt regem videntes sapientiam Dei esse in illo ad faciendum iudicium.*”

⁴ See above, Chapter Three, at nn. 56–7. The affair functioned as a sort of joust: the pope stated his opinion on when the saints see the face of God, Robert requested permission to challenge his views, the pope agreed but sent along a list of further authorities supporting his position, Robert responded to both in a two-part rebuttal, and so on.

ing made one a good judge, as well as the remark of Proverbs 1:5, *a wise man who listens will become more wise*.⁵

Given Robert's emphasis on the breadth of his learning, it is not surprising to find that he composed other works beyond these theological and devotional ones. He compiled a florilegium of philosophical sayings that may have served him as a reference tool in composing other works, and probably wrote a treatise on the moral virtues.⁶ A more publicized work was Robert's *questio* on divine and human law, which he delivered at the royal castle in Naples.⁷ Though the manuscript copies of the work state that he "disputed and determined" the question, following academic tradition, Robert was the only participant. In short, it was a mock debate, a ceremonial staging of Robert's legal erudition. It allowed him to take on the role of a university master; to comment on the relation between kingship and justice; and, incidentally, to demonstrate his familiarity with Aquinas' writings, on which his comments were principally based.⁸

Robert's magisterial persona was developed not only through this disputation, but through his close association with the Neapolitan university in general.⁹ Since its origins under Frederick II the

⁵ "Et iuxta premissa, advertens quod modica mea dicta, declarationi illius poterant utiliter advenire, Philosopho, principio Ethicorum, dicente quod quilibet bene iudicat qui bene novit, et horum este bonus iudex, simpliciter autem qui circa omnia bene eruditus est, et Sapientie docente quod *audiens sapiens sapientior erit*." The letter is printed in M. Dykmans, ed., *Robert d'Anjou. La vision bienheureuse* (Rome, 1970), 3-4.

⁶ Pryds, *The King Embodies the Word*, 45. As Pryds notes, many scholars believe the *Trattato delle virtù morali di Roberto re di Gerusalemme*, first published in Turin in 1750, to be apocryphal. However, in a royal document of 27 June 1309 Robert's son, Charles of Calabria, made payments to a scribe named Stefano, "quatenus Stephano scribenti Moralia dicti domini patris nostri." See Camillo Minieri-Riccio, *Saggio di codice diplomatico. Supplementum*, vol. 2 (Naples, 1883), 52. This *Moralia* may not be the treatise published in 1750, but it does appear that Robert composed a work on morals before succeeding to the throne.

⁷ "Questio utrum lex humana contineat aliquid contra divinam, disputata et determinata per serenissimum principem Robertum Jerusalem et Sicilie regem illustrem in Castro Novo Neapolis." The work is found in each of the two principal codices of Robert's sermons, where it is dated to January of indiction eight—either 1325 or 1340: see Walter Goetz, *König Robert von Neapel* (Tübingen, 1910), 54n.

⁸ On the circumstances of the *questio*'s delivery, see Pryds, *The King Embodies the Word*, 77-81; on its content, almost wholly derived from the thought of Aquinas, see Jean-Paul Boyer, "Une théologie du droit. Les sermons juridiques du roi Robert de Naples et de Barthélemy de Capoue," in *Saint-Denis et la royauté. Études offertes à Bernard Guenée*, ed. François Autrand et al. (Paris, 1999), 650-51.

⁹ The fundamental work remains Gennaro Maria Monti, "L'età angioina," in *Storia della università di Napoli*, ed. Francesco Torraca et al. (Naples, 1924), 17-150. See also Pryds, *The King Embodies the Word*, 63-81.

university had served as a training ground for royal officials, and Robert followed the tradition of his Staufen and Angevin predecessors in suppressing most of the realm's other *studia* in order to assure the primacy of Naples'.¹⁰ This *studium* was unusual among European universities of the period in being headed by the king himself, who paid ordinary professors out of the royal coffers and authorized the granting of degrees.¹¹ His authority was such that he could dispense with the normal examination by committee in order to grant degrees at will, as Robert did for his physician Giacomo di Falco in 1321.¹² He could also obtain the authorization of a degree not normally offered by the university. The Naples *studium generale* offered instruction in arts, medicine, and law, but generally not theology, which was taught instead in the religious *studia* of the capital. In 1332, an exception was made for Andrea da Perugia, a Franciscan friar who had earned the favor of Robert and Pope John XXII; he was to be examined by the university faculty and granted a degree in theology, "despite the fact," as the pope noted, "that masters are not normally promoted in this field at the university."¹³ The king was also the sole granting authority of licenses to practice medicine or law in the kingdom, which were distinct from the *conventus* or *magistratus* necessary to teach.¹⁴

Through such means Robert associated erudition with virtually every sphere of his ruling activity. It informed his patronage, which favored learned men; his piety, through his composition of religious works; his political diplomacy, as he discoursed knowledgeably to foreign ambassadors and to the pope; and his justice, grounded in his understanding of legal philosophy. But the most conspicuous and unusual manifestation of his erudition was his preaching. This practice was not wholly unprecedented: a few other European rulers preached the occasional sermon, possibly including Robert's revered great-uncle, St. Louis IX.¹⁵ Thanks in large part to the mendicant

¹⁰ Monti, "L'età angioina," 21–24. Robert closed a school in Sulmona in 1309, and another in Pescara in 1322.

¹¹ Ibid., 30–32. "Extraordinary" teachers, however, such as assistants or instructors who had not yet received their teaching license, were paid for by the students.

¹² Ibid., 58–59.

¹³ Ibid., 114, citing the papal letter of September 1332 requesting the exception.

¹⁴ Ibid., 70.

¹⁵ The chronicler Matthew Paris called St. Louis a "preacher" of crusade, and a putative eyewitness described Louis as preaching: see Christoph Maier, "Civilis ac

orders, preaching by the later thirteenth century was Europeans' most familiar form of public oratory—familiar but still authoritative, imbued with a sacral aura Robert no doubt found fitting to his royal status.¹⁶ And Robert exploited it to a degree unknown in any other European ruler before or after, making it his principal means of communicating his self-image in all its aspects, and to a variety of audiences.

Even more than his liturgical office or theological treatises, for instance, these sermons were a demonstration of Robert's piety. Over half of his two hundred and sixty-six sermons were preached on simple Sundays and feast days, with no apparent purpose beyond liturgical celebration. On special occasions—the feast days of “Angevin” saints, the election of a new pope, the reception of a visiting prelate—Robert's sermons could serve propagandistic or diplomatic functions as well, but still within an essentially religious context. And Robert made this pious, clerical role public, at least in the major cities of his territories. We know he undertook a long series of visitations to the churches and convents of Naples, and preached at many of them; in Avignon he preached several times before the pope and for public celebrations such as those announcing the canonization of Thomas Aquinas.¹⁷ If this was piety, however, it was a conspicuously erudite brand. In a long sermon preached for the feast of Peter Martyr, for example, the saint's virtues were merely a starting point from which Robert launched into discussions of medicine and the properties of numbers, cited Avicenna and Al-Ghazali, and quoted from the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*.¹⁸

Robert preached a number of other sermons on university occasions, further strengthening his identification with higher learning.

pia regis Francorum deceptio. Louis IX as Crusade Preacher,” in *Dei Gesta per Francos: Etudes sur les Croisades dédiées à Jean Richard*, ed. M. Balard et al. (Aldershot, Eng., 2001), and Regina Schiewer, “Sermons for Nuns of the Dominican Observance Movement,” in *Medieval Monastic Preaching*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden, 1998), 84. I thank William Jordan for these references. For other examples of royal preaching, see Pryds, *The King Embodies the Word*, 15–16.

¹⁶ Pryds, *The King Embodies the Word*, 6–9. Some laity also adopted preaching in this period: see the bibliography cited in Pryds, 8n. One of these laypeople was Robert's own protonotary, Bartolomeo da Capua, whose sermons have provided one important source for the present study.

¹⁷ See above, Chapter Three, at nn. 70–72, 96.

¹⁸ Inc. “*Addidit tertium mittere et eum vulnerantes eiecerunt* (Luc. 20:12)”: Bibl. Ang. 151, fols. 236v–246r.

On six occasions, he preached at the public ceremony (*conventus*) surrounding the inception of a new master.¹⁹ He did so in late 1332 for Andrea da Perugia, in a ceremony held in the royal palace of Castelnuevo.²⁰ It was probably in the same year that he preached for the inception of Giovanni Rivestro in civil law, for the master was listed among the university's professors in 1332.²¹ Robert also preached for the *conventus* of Roberto da Capua, count of Altavilla and grandson of the king's protonotary Bartolomeo, and for the royal counsellor Bartolomeo da Salerno, both of whom were incepting in canon law.²² Three other scholars whom Robert honored by preaching are also identified, though less specifically, and it is clear that he preached on other like occasions.²³ The sermon for Giovanni Rivestro bears the rubric "when someone graduates," indicating it could be recycled for other inception ceremonies; the rubric of an eighth inception sermon simply reads, "for promoting to the doctorate," though its theme suggests it was composed to honor a doctor of law.²⁴ The king was also known to preach to the assembled community of scholars, as he did at the famous medical school of Salerno.²⁵

These university sermons were traditional in emphasizing the newly incepted scholar's erudition and the great honor of his position; their novelty lay simply in being spoken by the king, as part of a ritual that underscored his headship of the university and indeed (since inception speeches were normally given by the university masters)

¹⁹ On this ceremony see Monti, "L'età angioina," 52–53, 57.

²⁰ "Ad nostrum propositum duo principaliter designantur: primo, sollicitudinis studii laboris opus; secundo, celsitudinis magisterii honoris gradus." The short sermon is edited in Pryds, *The King Embodies the Word*, 127.

²¹ The sermon, inc. "*Bonorum laborum gloriosus est fructus* (Sap. 3:15)," is no. 140 in the catalog by Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Repertorium des lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters*, vol. 5 (Münster, 1973). On Giovanni's teaching duties in 1332 see Monti, "L'età angioina," 82.

²² That for Roberto, inc. "*Sume tibi librum grandem* (Jes. 8:1)," is no. 76 in Schneyer's catalog; on Roberto see Dykmans, *La vision bienheureuse*, 42*. The sermon honoring Bartolomeo da Salerno is Schneyer no. 115, inc. "*Si quesieris sapientiam*."

²³ For one "master Lorenzo," inc. "*Ex doctrina sua*," Schneyer no. 132; for Landulfo Bulcano, inc. "*Tempus affuit quo sol*," Schneyer no. 133; for Pietro Crispano in law, inc. "*Post triduum*," Schneyer no. 147.

²⁴ Inc. "*Esdras paravit cor suum, ut investigaret legem domini* (1 Esdr. 7:10)": Bibl. Ang. 150, fol. 40r. This sermon is not listed in the catalog by Schneyer, but is no. 222 in the catalog by Goetz, *König Robert*.

²⁵ Schneyer no. 81, inc. "*Altissimus creavit de terra medicinam et vir prudens non abhorrebit eam* (Eccl. 38:4)."

his membership in the community of scholars. When he preached for one “master Lorenzo” that *a man is known by his erudition*, the remark applied as much to the speaker as to his subject.²⁶ For Bartolomeo da Salerno’s graduation in canon law, Robert’s theme was Proverbs 2:4: *If you seek after wisdom as after riches, and search for her as for hidden treasure, then you shall understand the fear of the Lord, and discover the knowledge of God.*²⁷ Such a wise man was like Christ who sat and taught in the Temple, Robert remarked in his sermon for the lawyer Pietro Crispano; or again, he was like David, who “sat in the chair (*in cathedra*), wisest among the three.” By associating the wise scholar with David, the wise king, Robert here made explicit the self-referentiality of his university sermons.²⁸ Indeed, as we shall see, other preachers applied this description of King David, *sapientissimus inter tres*, to Robert himself.

The universities and churches of the realm would seem the most fitting contexts for Robert’s preaching, which was a learned and clerical activity. But as we have seen in previous chapters, Robert gave sermons on political occasions too. He often preached to foreign dignitaries when he travelled to their cities, as he did in Genoa and before the papal court, and when he received foreign ambassadors in Naples. Such sermons provided a ritual opening to diplomatic discussions, establishing the king’s authority and setting the tone for following negotiation. But Robert preached just as often to the powerful lords in his own realm, whose loyalty was crucial to the king’s security and power. He preached when investing Berardo d’Aquino with the county of Loreto in 1330, and for at least eight other noblemen whom he raised to or confirmed in comital status.²⁹ He preached as well to celebrate the appointment of noblemen to high government office.³⁰ Thus the landed elites of the realm, like its intellectual

²⁶ Inc. “*Ex doctrina sua cognoscitur vir.*” (The passage from Proverbs reads *Doctrina sua noscetur vir.*) See above, n. 23.

²⁷ Inc. “*Si quesieris sapientiam quasi pecuniam et sicut thesauros effoderis illam, tunc intelleges timorem domini et scientiam Dei invenies*”: see above, n. 22.

²⁸ This passage is discussed by Pryds, *The King Embodies the Word*, 75.

²⁹ For Berardo d’Aquino, inc. “*Hoc erit signum*,” Schneyer no. 112; the others are, in Schneyer’s catalog, no. 134 (for Ruggiero Sanseverino), no. (for Riccardo Burson), no. 117 (when investing his brother John with the duchy of Durazzo and Albania), no. 254 (for the count of Sinopoli), no. 265 (for the count of Minervino and his brother), no. 267 (for Roberto da Capua), and nos. 146 and 148, both for the count of Mirabello.

³⁰ For instance, his “sermo in promotione marascalie,” inc. “*Hodie incipiam exaltare te* (Jos. 3:7),” discussed above, Chapter Five, at nn. 134–136.

elite, enjoyed the king's attentions, and Robert flattered them by stressing the common traits they shared with their king. If Robert presented himself to university audiences as a doctor among doctors, to noblemen he stressed the power and dignity of office, qualities his subject shared, if to a lesser degree, with his lord. "*Thus shall be honored whomever the king has wished to honor,*" began the sermon honoring Nicolas de Joinville, a passage from the Book of Esther that Robert liked enough to use again as the theme for a generic sermon of promotion.³¹ When investing Ruggiero di Sanseverino as count of Mileto, Robert's biblical theme stressed the count's imitation of his lord: "*Inspect and follow the pattern that was shown to you on the mount.*"³²

The king preached to more general audiences as well. A number of sermons related to war: exhorting knights and prelates to take up arms, encouraging the communities of the realm to provide subsidies for military offensives, or celebrating a victory such as that in the Lipari Islands in 1339.³³ The designation of Robert's granddaughter Joanna as heir in 1330, and her betrothal to Andrew of Hungary three years later, inspired a half-dozen sermons, for these were events that depended for their success on subjects' acceptance.³⁴ Finally, as noted in Chapter Four, Robert preached a number of sermons to encourage or celebrate the resolution of hostilities in the kingdom, and at least once on a judicial occasion.³⁵ Just how general Robert's audiences were is difficult to determine, but on at least some occasions he addressed representatives of the kingdom's vari-

³¹ Schneyer no. 141, "collatio facta per dom. Regem Sicilie pro domino Nicholao de Jamvilla," inc. "*Sic honorabiter quemcumque rex voluit honorare.*" A paraphrase of the same passage opens the generic sermon "de promovendo per regem ad aliquem gradum," Schneyer no. 3.

³² Schneyer no. 134, "collatio quam fecit ille rex Jerusalem et Sicilie quando dominum Rogerium de Sancto Severino comitatus Mileti honore et titulo insignavit," inc. "*Inspice et fac secundum exemplar quod tibi in monte monstratum est* (Exod. 25:40)."

³³ For instance, Schneyer nos. 124 and 268 (on taking up arms), no. 123 (when seeking a subsidy), no. 6 (celebrating the victory of 1339).

³⁴ Thus Robert preached in November 1330, when representatives of cities of the realm came to Naples to swear homage and fealty to Joanna, and twice more to thank those representatives and the mayors of Naples for their oaths (Schneyer nos. 108–110). He preached again in 1333 to honor Andrew's arrival in Naples, his betrothal to Joanna, and their investiture with the principality of Salerno, a traditional title of the heir apparent (Schneyer nos. 131, 145, 260).

³⁵ See Chapter Four, at nn. 163–191.

ous communities who had travelled to the capital, and who would presumably convey his message back to their hometowns.³⁶

While the themes of Robert's sermons varied in accordance with their occasion and audience, all demonstrated his erudition and wisdom, and Robert was quick to point out how such qualities benefited his people. In a sermon preached for Palm Sunday, Robert's subject was the ideal qualities of a preacher; his chosen biblical theme, however, was overtly royal, and established the connection between preaching and kingship. Analyzing the passage *Behold, your king comes unto you* (Matt. 21:5), Robert explained:

These words reveal four things that are required for the perfection of whoever preaches. He must be a *king* in his knowledge, perfect in that which regards the act of teaching . . . indeed, "the sign of the learned man is the ability to teach" (1 Metaph.) [He must be] a *king* superior in obedience, prompt in the duty of preaching. . . . [and] a *king* in correcting his neighbor, benign in his rebukes. . . . A *king* in his attention to God, upright in edifying, and this is implied in the word *your*, that is, in attending to the needs of your people.³⁷

Thus the ideal preacher was a "king" by analogy, but the king—this king—was a preacher in fact, perfect in his learning and thus able to correct and care for his people.

Robert's supporters, too, stressed that the king's preaching enabled him to guide his people well. When Robert returned to Naples in 1324 after his long sojourn in Provence, Bartolomeo da Capua celebrated the occasion with a sermon on that same biblical passage, *Behold, your king comes unto you*. Listing the ways Robert's coming benefited his subjects, Bartolomeo noted that "he came to you for your comfort, since his presence and wisdom is the comfort of all

³⁶ A sermon requesting a subsidy for war, for instance (Schneyer no. 124) was preached "to the syndics of the communities of the realm" on one of the occasions when Robert called a general parlement to solicit their agreement to the tax.

³⁷ "*Ecce rex tuus venit tibi mansuetus* (Matt. 21:5). In istis verbis ostenduntur quatuor que requiruntur ad perfectionem cuiuslibet predicantis. Debet enim esse *rex* sui scientia, perfectus quantum ad doctrine actum . . .; *signum* enim *scientis* est *posse docere*, 1 Metaph. *Rex* superioris [*sic*] obedientia, promptus quantum ad predicationis officium. . . . *Rex* proximi correctione, benignus quantum ad increpationis modum. . . . *Rex* Dei intentione, rectus quantum ad edificationis—, et hoc insinuat cum subinfertur *tibi*, id est ad utilitatem tui populi assistentis." Edited in Jean-Paul Boyer, "*Ecce rex tuus*. Le roi et le royaume dans les sermons de Robert de Naples," *Revue Mabillon*, n.s., 6 (1995), 131–132.

the faithful. . . . He came to you for your direction, in order to lead and instruct you, whence we can properly say what is written . . . in the Psalms, *Direct my steps in thy eloquence, that my footsteps slip not.*"³⁸ Here Bartolomeo presented Robert's "eloquence" as the concrete manifestation of his wisdom, the means through which he properly guided his people. The Dominican preacher Federico Franconi also called attention to Robert's wisdom "in responsions, in *questiones*, and in sermons"—that is, in his oratory—and likened him to Ecclesiastes, traditionally identified as Solomon: "*And since Ecclesiastes was very wise, he taught the people, and declared the things that he had done; he sought out, and set forth many parables. He sought profitable words, and wrote sermons which were most correct and full of truth, Eccl. 12 [9–10].*"³⁹ Remigio de' Girolami, preaching in Florence in Robert's honor, commented at some length on Robert's unusual habit:

It pertains to the priest or deacon to preach. Although this king is a layman, nevertheless he presents himself in a priestly way by preaching. So Luke Chapter 8 describes that possessed layman who preached how much Jesus had done for him. Nor should this be improper or unnatural. . . . Whence Proverbs 2, *a royal priesthood*. And so is Robert well described, who with magisterial profundity and speech is the incense-bearer of the Lord. . . . Although he preached like a scholar on the precepts and sayings of the philosophers, he then referred everything to the observation of divine precepts.⁴⁰

Remigio was more hesitant about the propriety of Robert's preaching, doubtless because, as we shall see, his Florentine audience could be quite hostile to the "preaching king." Yet by acknowledging possible reservations about Robert's sermonizing, he could also more

³⁸ In his speech of 1324, ed. Jean-Paul Boyer, "Parler du roi et pour le roi. Deux 'sermons' de Barthélemy de Capoue," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 79 (1995), 245. The biblical citation is a hybrid of Psalm 118:33 and Psalm 16:5.

³⁹ The passage comes from Federico's funeral sermon for the king, inc. "*Ecce rex vester*": Munich, MS Clm 2971, at fol. 132r. I cite from David d'Avray's working translation of this part of the sermon, with which he kindly provided me.

⁴⁰ "Ad sacerdotem enim vel diaconem pertinet predicare. Quamvis autem iste rex sit laicus, tamen in predicando ad modum clerici et clericaliter se habet. Sicut dicitur in Luc. 8 de illo demoniaco laico, predicans quanta illi fecisset Jesus. Nec hic inconvenienter et innaturaliter fit. . . . Iuxta illud Prov. 2, *regale sacerdotium*. Et sic bene dicitur Robertus qui magistrali profunditate et veritate [?] Domini thurificans. . . . Quamvis enim magistraliter predicavit precepta et dicta philosophorum, tum totum hoc referebat ad observantium preceptorum divinorum." From the sermon inc. "*Ego constitutus sum rex ab eo super Syon*": Florence, Bibl. Naz., MS G 4 936, fol. 351v–352r.

effectively present his counter-image, of a rightful “royal priest” whose secular learning enriched his teaching of divine things.

Given the numerous ways Robert manifested his erudition, it is not surprising that wisdom was the quality with which his publicists and supporters most regularly identified him. This was true already in 1309, when Bartolomeo da Capua announced Robert’s recent coronation to the people of Naples. After first stressing the legitimacy of Robert’s succession, which was his due by the preeminent dignity of his birth, by hereditary succession, and by papal declaration, Bartolomeo turned to the king’s inherent virtues. As the earliest extant description of Robert’s royal persona, the passage is worth quoting at length:

The vessels of virtue in which our lord king was crowned are principally four. . . . First, he was crowned in the vessels of sweet and high wisdom, since this king is steeped and learned in sacred theology, which treats of God and of divine things and is handed down by divine means. For this reason wisdom is called an almost flavorful knowledge, as Isidore says. It pertains principally to wisdom to consider the highest cause which is God himself, as Aristotle says in *Metaphysics* (book 14, chapter) 1, whose taste is sweet, as is read in *Wisdom* 7 [:22]. . . . Secondly, the aforementioned king was crowned in the vessels of prompt and luminous knowledge, since he is expert in moral philosophy and logic, and prompt in speculation. This crown is described in *Ecclesiasticus* 25 [:8], *the crown of the aged is great knowledge*. This old age is measured not by the daily passage of time or number of years, but by perspicacity of intelligence and by approved mores, as is said in *Wisdom* 4 [:8–9]. . . . This lord king was similarly crowned in the vessels of shining and open justice, since he is just and loves justice in all his acts and proceedings. Of this crown the Apostle says, *there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness*, 2 *Thim.* 4 [:8]. Fourthly, this king was crowned in the vessels of stable and merciful constancy, since in all his acts and deeds he is constant and stable like a virtuous man, to whom it pertains to act with firmness and constancy, as is said in *Ethics*, Book 2. Of this crown it is written in *Revelation* 2 [:10], *be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life*.⁴¹

⁴¹ “Vasis enim virtutis in quibus fuit coronatus idem dominus noster rex sunt quattuor principaliter. . . . Primo, fuit coronatus in vasis suavis et alte sapientie, quia idem rex imbutus et doctus est profunde in sacra theologia que de Deo tractat et de divinis ac divino modo traditis, propter quod dicitur sapientia quasi sapida scientia, sicut dicit Ysidorus, ad quam specialiter pertinet considerare causam altissimam que est ipse Deus, ut dicit Philosophus primo *Methaphis.*, cuius gustus suavis est, prout legitur *Sapient. VII.* . . . Secundo fuit etiam coronatus prefatus rex in vasis prompte et lumine scientie, quia in moralibus et logicalibus peritus et promptus

In presenting the new king, as yet absent, to his subjects, Bartolomeo could hope to set the tone for Robert's reign, or more precisely for subjects' reception of it. Naturally he sought to invest Robert with a full complement of ruling virtues. It is notable, however, that the first two "principal" qualities of Robert were intellectual virtues: a *sapientia* defined as knowledge of the divine, and a *scientia* identified with secular fields such as philosophy and logic. Thus, as Bartolomeo noted in his conclusion, the words of Canticles 3:11—*behold king Solomon with the crown wherewith his mother crowned him*—applied aptly to Robert: "King Solomon, that is, the king of Sicily, since he can be called a Solomon by participation on account of his wisdom."⁴²

At the end of Robert's reign, the preacher Federico Franconi again linked Robert primarily with wisdom and knowledge. His funeral sermon for the king, on the biblical passage *Behold your king*, opened by listing Robert's virtues in descending order. Explaining the three meanings of *behold*, Federico noted that one beheld first the king's wisdom, then his obedience, and finally his mere presence, that is, the dead body laid out for the exequies. Thus the first quality he described was

the wonder of him and his excellence. Who would not admire his wisdom, whether in natural or moral philosophy, or medicine, or law, or grammar, or logic? And in short, I believe that in his time the world did not have a man who was so wise in so many fields. Thorough instruction made him competent in all the liberal arts, and he was a great theologian. One could therefore say of him the words of Matthew 12 [:42], *Behold, one greater than Solomon here*.⁴³

est ac actus speculator. De hac corona scribitur Ecclesiastic. XXV: *corona senum multa peritia*. Senes quidem intelliguntur ibi non diurnitate temporis neque annorum numero, sed perspicacitate intellectus et moribus approbatis, sicut dicitur Sapient. IIII. . . . Tertio, fuit similiter coronatus iam dictus dominus rex in vasis preclare ac aperte iustitie, quia ipse iustus est et iustitiam diligit in omnibus processibus et operationibus suis. De hac corona dicit Apostolus: *in reliquo posita est mihi corona iustitie*, II ad Thimo. IIII. Quarto, fuit etiam coronatus rex ipse in vasis stabilis et mansuete constantie, quia in omnibus actibus et gestis suis constans et stabilis est sicut virtuosus ad quem pertinet constanter et immobiliter operari, ut dicitur in II Ethicorum. De huius modi corona scribitur Apoc. II: *esto fidelis usque ad mortem et dabo tibi coronam vite*." Edited in Boyer, "Parler du roi," 240–241.

⁴² "*Regem Salomonem*, id est, regem Sicilie, qui per quamdam participationem potest dici Salomon ratione sue sapientie." Ibid., 242.

⁴³ The passage is transcribed and translated in David d'Avray, *Death and the Prince. Memorial preaching before 1350* (Oxford, 1994), 107.

Federico then concluded his sermon with a reverse, ascending order of virtues, such that wisdom was both first and last. Explaining the word *king*, he noted that a king is associated first with the shepherd, which denoted love of subjects, then with the lion, symbol of military strength. Lastly (in a passage cited above more briefly),

the king is compared to man by reason of his wisdom, for he was very wise indeed in all fields of knowledge, in responsions, in *questiones*, in sermons. Ecclesiastes 12 [:9–10]: *And since Ecclesiastes was very wise, he taught the people, and declared the things that he had done; and seeking out, he set forth many parables. He sought profitable words, and wrote sermons which were most correct and full of truth.* This man is therefore another Solomon, magnified by the riches not only of money but of wisdom and glory. 2 Paralipomenon 9 [:22–3]: *And Solomon was magnified above all the kings of the earth for riches and glory, and all the kings of the earth desired to see the face of Solomon, that they might hear the wisdom that God had placed in his heart.* Indeed, he was another King David, who was most wise. 2 Kings 23 [:8]: *David sits enthroned, the wisest king among the three,* because he [Robert] was the wisest from among kings Charles I and Charles II: a wise philosopher, a wiser statesman, and a most wise theologian.⁴⁴

Other courtiers and clients seconded these sentiments. The medical scholar Matteo Silvatico wrote that Robert “outshines all the princes of the world in his knowledge of medicine,” while his Florentine colleague Dino del Garbo, who dedicated a commentary on Avicenna to the king, observed that “since among all men the most serene prince Robert maximally links divine and human matters . . . therefore he should be reputed most excellent among all men in his human nature.”⁴⁵ The Provençal friar François de Meyronnes, when dedicating his commentary on Pseudo-Dionysius to Robert, wrote that “the love of wisdom so sublimely attracts his mind that he can rightly be called not only an illustrious prince, but indeed a true philosopher.”⁴⁶ The Provençal scholar Calonymus ben Calonymus,

⁴⁴ Phrases from this passage are cited and translated in *ibid.*, 108; I rely for the full passage on d’Avray’s working translation, which he kindly shared with me.

⁴⁵ Matteo Silvatico’s comment—“inter cunctos mundi principes medicinali dogmate prefulget”—is cited in Antonio Altamura, *La letteratura dell’età angioina* (Naples, 1952), 42. Dino del Garbo’s praise, “quia inter omnes homines serenissimus princeps Robertus maxime res divinas cum rebus humanis connectit. . . idcirco maxime debet inter omnes homines in natura humana excellentissimus reputari,” is cited in Dykmans, *La vision bienheureuse*, 40*.

⁴⁶ “Cuius serenissimam animam adeo vere sapientie amor sublimiter allexit, ut non solum princeps inclitus, sed etiam verus philosophus non immerito potest dici.”

from whom Robert commissioned numerous works in the later 1320s, referred to Robert as a second Solomon.⁴⁷ So did Robert's queen, Sancia, who wrote to the Franciscan Chapter General convened in Assisi in 1334 that Robert "possessed more wisdom and knowledge than have been known of any prince of the world since the time of Solomon."⁴⁸

In light of such comments, the Dominican friar Guglielmo da Sarzano's exuberant praise of wise kingship appears as a thinly-veiled portrait of his own lord, Robert. "Indeed if *the land whose king is noble* is called *blessed*, according to the wisdom of Solomon in Ecclesiastes, what land can more properly be called blessed than that whose king is wise and just, since wisdom is a noble possession of the soul . . . ? Certainly none, since wisdom is *the breath of the virtue of God, the pure emanation of brightness, the brilliance of eternal light, the spotless mirror of God's majesty and the image of his most abundant goodness*, Sap. 7 [:25]. . . . Since, as Solomon teaches in the Proverbs [16:15], *in the joyfulness of the king's face is life*, where better can joyfulness be found than in the face of a wise king and prince?" Such a wise man was not "disturbed by passions," but ruled with a serene mind. "What leader or prince can be found who is better equipped to extinguish evil and promote the good than a wise king?" For, as Guglielmo noted, continuing to cite the book of Wisdom, "*a wise king is the stability of his people*."⁴⁹

Allies, chroniclers, even impartial observers echoed the court's characterization; as Alessandro Barbero has noted, Robert's royal

Edited in Jeanne Barbet, "Le prologue du commentaire dionysien de François de Meyronnes, O.F.M.," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 21 (1954), 191.

⁴⁷ See M. Steinschneider, "Robert von Anjou und die jüdische Litteratur," *Vierteilschrift für Kultur und Litteratur der Renaissance* 2 (1886), 110–114.

⁴⁸ The letter is translated in Ronald Musto, "Queen Sancia of Naples (1286–1345) and the Spiritual Franciscans," in *Women of the Medieval World. Essays in Honor of J.H. Mundy*, ed. Julius Kirschner and Suzanne Wemple (Oxford and New York, 1985), 207–214; the quote appears on 208.

⁴⁹ "Si enim terra *cujus rex est nobilis* predicatur *beata*, teste in Ecclesiaste sapientia Salomonis, que terra obsecro magis proprie dici potest beata quam illa *cujus rex sapiens est et justus*, cum sapientia sit nobilis quedam possessio animi . . . ? Certe nulla, quoniam ipsa est *vapor virtutis Dei, emanatio quedam claritatis ejus sincera, candor lucis eterne, speculum sine macula majestatis Dei et ymago sue affluentissime bonitatis*. . . . Denique si, Salomone docente in Proverbiis, *in ylaritate vultus regis est vita*, ubi major potest et uberior reperiri jocunditas quam in vultu seu facie regis et principis sapientis? . . . quoniam in sapientis mente nulla cadat passio turbans. . . . Quis aut qualis rector aut princeps magis ydoneus ad malorum exterminium et fulcimentum bonorum quam rex sapiens poterit reperiri? . . . *rex sapiens est stabilimentum populi*." In the edition of F. Delorme, "Tractatus Fratris Guillelmi de Sarzano de excellentia principatus regalis," *Antonianum* 15 (1940), 242–3.

image was not, like his grandfather's, the product of official propaganda alone.⁵⁰ Remigio de' Girolami, for instance, listing the reasons why the Florentines should honor king Robert, mentioned first his noble blood, then "his wisdom in letters, in natural sciences as in theology. Thus Proverbs 23 [*sic*], *the king will reign and will be wise*, is fitting for him. Indeed, as is written in Ecclesiasticus 37 [:29], *the wise man will inherit honor among the people*. Thirdly, by reason of his fluent eloquence. *Hidden wisdom and unseen treasure, of what use is either?* as say the words of Ecclesiasticus 20 [:32]. Our king is not only wise but eloquent."⁵¹ Pope John XXII wrote in 1317 that Robert's natural genius and knowledge of the liberal arts outshone those of all other princes; even his enemy Frederick of Sicily conceded in 1314 that Robert was a man of no little learning.⁵² John Luttrell, an Englishman resident at the papal court in the 1320s, wrote of "the king of Sicily, who among all the clerics of the world that I have seen, [spoke] as well and elegantly in refutations as in responsions, and showed himself truly a man of great knowledge, and more perfect than many in all things, and in moral philosophy the most excellent possible."⁵³ The Venetian Marino Sanudo, who met Robert in Avignon in the early 1320s, wrote a decade later that the king "is the wisest lord, above all others who have worn a crown for a long time."⁵⁴ The Florentine chronicler Giovanni Villani specified that

⁵⁰ Alessandro Barbero, *Il mito angioino nella cultura italiana e provenzale fra Duecento e Trecento* (Turin, 1983), 128.

⁵¹ "Secundo ratione literalis sapientie tam in physicis quam in theologicis. Ut bene conveniat ei illud Prov. 23, *Regebit rex et sapiens erit*. Ut autem dicitur Eccl. 27, *Sapiens in populo haereditabit honorem*. Tertio ratione facundialis eloquentie. *Sapientia enim absconsa* [ms: abscondita] *et thesaurus invisus, quae utilitas utrisque?* quae dicit verba Eccl. 20 [:32]. Noster autem rex non solum sapiens sed etiam eloquens est." From the sermon inc. "*Regem honorificate*"; Florence, Bibl. Naz., MS G 4 936, at fol. 350v.

⁵² Cited in Paul Fournier, *Le Royaume d'Arles et de Vienne, 1138-1378* (Paris, 1891), 353n.

⁵³ "Insuper dominus rex Sicilie, qui inter omnes clericos mundi quos unquam vidi, bene et eleganter tam in oppositionibus quam in responsionibus realiter se ostendit virum magne scientie et quasi in omne ante multum perfectum et in moralitatibus quamplurimum excellentem." Cited in Dykmans, *La vision bienheureuse*, 37*.

⁵⁴ "Sapientissimus dominus est ultra omnes qui coronam portaverint iam longo tempore." In a letter to Bertrand, bishop of Ostia and Velletri and papal legate, 1330. Edited in F. Kunstmann, "Studien über Marino Sanudo den Älteren mit einem Anhang seiner ungedruckten Briefe," *Abhandlungen der Historischen Classe Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 7 (Munich, 1853), at 778. Marino later visited Naples to beg the king to undertake a crusade, in the early 1330s: *ibid.*, 701-02.

Robert was the wisest ruler in five hundred years.⁵⁵ The chronicle of the Roman Anonymous called him “a greatly learned man, [who] was especially expert in the art of medicine; he was a great scholar of natural science and a philosopher.”⁵⁶ In the *Cronaca di Partenope*, Robert was described as “the wisest man in wisdom that there has been on earth since the time of Solomon.”⁵⁷ Boccaccio too, in his *Genealogy of the Gods*, compared Robert to Solomon, and Donato degli Albinazzi, commentator on Boccaccio’s *Eclogues*, noted further that Boccaccio called Robert “Argus” because he was “the wisest man of his time, educated in many sciences, excellent man of letters, poet, historian and astrologer.”⁵⁸

The intensity and consistency of Robert’s identification with wisdom are noteworthy. His court lauded his piety, but largely in connection with his papal alliance, and without seeking to portray him (as they portrayed his father) as specially devout. On that other classic ruling virtue, justice, his supporters had surprisingly little to say. As for the prudence of his political decisions, this was a virtue Robert labored almost single-handedly to convince others of. Only the king’s sacrality, fruit of his subjection to the Church and, even more, inherent in his saintly lineage, came near wisdom as a widely lauded ruling quality. Indeed, as we will see, there was a close connection between the two. But wisdom was still by far the most prominent component of his royal image. It was this quality that distinguished Robert from his predecessors, and indeed set him apart from all other kings of his extended lineage. So said Federico Franconi, in a sermon ostensibly honoring the anniversary of Charles II’s death but actually devoted to a triple portrait of the first three Angevin kings. Taking as his theme *The lord our king shall sit forever* (Ps. 28:10), Federico stated that Charles I represented the conqueror who “sits in tri-

⁵⁵ Giovanni Villani, *Cronica*, Book 11, ch. 10: “Re Ruberto fu il più savio re che fosse tra’ cristiani già sono cinquecento anni, e di senno naturale e di scienza, grandissimo maestro in teologia, e sommo filosofo.”

⁵⁶ “Fu omo granne litterato, e specialmente fu esperto nella arte della medicina. Granne fisico fone, a filosofo fone.” *Anonimo Romano. Cronica*, ed. G. Porta (Milan, 1979), 61.

⁵⁷ *Cronaca di Partenope*, ed. Antonio Altamura (Naples, 1974), 37–38.

⁵⁸ Giovanni Boccaccio, *Genealogie Deorum Gentilium Libri*, Book XIV, 9: “talemque de se fecisse regem, ut a Salamone citra regum doctiorem mortales agnovierint.” See the edition of V. Romano, 2 vols. (Bari, 1951), 709. For Donato’s comment see Ferdinando Bologna, *I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli, 1266–1414* (Rome, 1969), 220.

umph,” while Charles II exemplified, instead, pious compassion, “sitting with those in grief and affliction and poverty, through . . . the alms and benefits that he bestowed freely on poor religious and churches.” Turning then to Robert, he noted that

thirdly, “to sit” belongs to the wise man or teacher. Luke 5 [:3]: *sitting, he taught* them. And in this way King Robert sits. One could apply to him the words of Kings 23 [:8], *The wisest among the three sits*. See, firstly, the emotions which have been calmed: John 11 [:20], *sat at home*. Secondly, the illuminated intelligence: *the wisest*. Eccles. 12 [:9–10]: *Since Ecclesiastes was very wise, he taught the people, and declared the things that he had done, and seeking out he set forth many parables. He sought profitable words, and wrote sermons which were most correct and full of truth*. Thirdly, see the approved number: *among three*. *Among*, that is, above the three kings of the house of France, namely the kings of France, Hungary, and Navarre; or among his grandfather and father, he, the third, sits as the wisest. For these are *the three who give testimony on earth: the spirit and the water and the blood*. The spirit is King Charles II; the water, King Robert, the most wise; and the blood, King Charles I.⁵⁹

Federico’s triple portrait is the earliest extant example of that developing topos noted in Chapter Four, in which Charles I came to be identified as the mighty, Charles II as the pious or merciful, and Robert as the wise.⁶⁰ There could be no stronger proof of the dominance of wisdom in his ruling image than this much-repeated dictum. But just as striking is Federico’s implication that these signature virtues were not created equal. The preacher did not stress that Charles I was mightier than his successors, or that Charles II was the most pious among three. But both here and in his funeral sermon he stressed that Robert’s wisdom placed him above his predecessors, indeed above all princes of the House of France.

Royal Wisdom: Sources and Models

In one sense nothing could be more traditional than to praise a king’s wisdom. The Bible provided archetypes of wise kingship in David and Solomon, which medieval kings and courtiers embroidered with

⁵⁹ This passage is transcribed and translated in d’Avray, *Death and the Prince*, 91–92.

⁶⁰ *Rer. Sen.* X, 4: see Francis Petrarch, *Letters of Old Age. Rerum Senilium libri I–XVIII*, trans. Aldo Bernardo et al., 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1992), 2: 389; *Anonimo romano. Cronica*, ed. G. Porta (Milan, 1979), 62.

examples from the Greco-Roman world from the early Middle Ages on. Thus Charlemagne's *laudes regiae* likened him to King David, and Alcuin called him the first philosopher of the realm: "Happy is the people ruled by a wise and pious prince," he wrote to Charlemagne, "as one can read in Plato, who declares that realms are happy when philosophers—that is, friends of wisdom—rule, or when rulers apply themselves to the study of philosophy."⁶¹ The tradition of learned patronage he started with his palace school was perpetuated two generations later by Charles the Bald, a king who, judging by the Bible dedicated to him in 871, was identified with Solomon.⁶² In these same decades, Alfred the Great of England identified himself with David, for whose psalms he had a special fondness, though his learned courtier Asser preferred to compare him with Solomon. Like Charlemagne he hoped to rekindle the flame of learning in his realm, and personally undertook translations of Augustine's *Soliloquies* and Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, literary preferences that illustrated, as Richard Abels has observed, that "for him, wisdom was the source of all other virtues."⁶³ Stephen, first Christian king of Hungary and converter of his people, was also likened to Solomon. As his *Legenda maior* stated, "he held up for example the judgment and justice of divine scripture, for which he was greatly zealous; like that saying of Solomon, *the wise man, listening, will become more wise, and the man of understanding will attain wise counsels*."⁶⁴ In early-eleventh-century France, Helgaud of Fleury described Robert the Pious as "a king very learned in letters: in his heart full of wisdom, God had implanted the gifts of a thorough knowledge."⁶⁵

The stability of such ideals across the centuries is not surprising. The king, like the saint, was a cornerstone of the medieval concep-

⁶¹ Ernst Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1958), 56–57; Heinrich Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire. The Age of Charlemagne*, trans. P. Munz (New York, 1964), 29; Jacques Krynen, *L'Empire du roi: Idées et croyances politiques en France, XIII^e–XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1993), 209.

⁶² Ernst Kantorowicz, "The Carolingian King in the Bible of San Paolo fuori le mura," in *Selected Studies* (Locust Valley, NY, 1965), 82–94.

⁶³ Richard Abels, *Alfred the Great. War, Kingship, and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1998), 239, 246.

⁶⁴ *Legenda maior Sancti Stephani regis*, ed. Emma Bartoniek, in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricum*, ed. E. Szentpétery, vol. 2 (Budapest, 1938), 394. The biblical citation is from Proverbs 1:5.

⁶⁵ Krynen, *L'Empire*, 209.

tion of society, a mirror in the human realm of God's celestial order. As a kind of *imago Dei* his role was by definition unchanging. There was probably never a moment when medieval kings were not expected, or at least hoped, to be pious, just, generous, wise. It is equally evident, however, that the significance attached to those virtues and the ways they were manifested altered in accordance with the changing society of which they were part. This has been amply demonstrated for that other most stable medieval type, the saint: despite the enormous conservatism of hagiography and the conscious efforts of holy men and women to imitate older models, the norms and practices (as well as the age, gender, and status) of Christian saints reflected larger shifts in Christian society.⁶⁶ Just so, royal wisdom did not necessarily mean the same thing in 800 that it did in 1300, nor is it likely that it held the same place in the larger complement of desired virtues. Charlemagne could be called wise when he was barely literate; Alfred could identify wisdom as military conquest.⁶⁷

Such conceptions were possible in the Augustinian definition of wisdom that dominated through the twelfth century. True *sapientia*, for Augustine, involved submission to divine precepts and rejection of "the wisdom of the world;" it manifested itself in love of God and neighbor, and in the fortitude to "turn away from human, temporal things." Wisdom, in short, was piety, a Christian *sapientia* to oppose classical *scientia*.⁶⁸ The wise kings of the early Middle Ages, with their conversions of pagan peoples and programs of Christian renewal, adhered faithfully to this model; it was largely for such zeal that both Charlemagne and Stephen would be raised to the company of saints.

In the thirteenth century, however, the rediscovery of Aristotle inspired a new appreciation for the classical conception of wisdom

⁶⁶ To cite just two foundational works in this rich field, see André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge, 1997), and Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*, trans. S. Rowan (Notre Dame, 1995).

⁶⁷ As Walter Ullman has observed, Charlemagne was "barely capable of writing. . . . His educational attainments, it is agreed on all sides, were not conspicuously high: not even his most uncritical admirer could present him as a literate person": *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship* (London, 1969), 3, 6. Abels observes that for Alfred, "wise kings did not only maintain peace, morality, and authority at home. They also extended their territory abroad": *Alfred the Great*, 256.

⁶⁸ E.F. Rice, Jr., *The Renaissance Idea of Wisdom* (Cambridge, MA, 1958; repr. 1973), 12–13.

that Augustine had opposed. Augustine's Christian wisdom—an understanding of God obtained through divine revelation alone—remained supreme. But the human mind's ability to understand earthly things (*scientia*) could now be its foundation, not its antithesis. Indeed, unaided human reason could even attain a kind of wisdom, for if Aristotle defined *sapientia* as metaphysics, or the knowledge of “first causes,” were not these first causes identical with God? The most influential early architect of this redefinition was Thomas Aquinas, whose *Summa* aimed in a global way to balance reason and revelation, the human and the divine. Just as grace perfected nature in Aquinas' famous formulation, so wisdom perfected knowledge: Aquinas “replaced Augustine's dualisms with a temporary harmony, rehabilitating a variety of naturally acquired wisdom and crowning it with a wisdom revealed by God.”⁶⁹

This new (or newly classicizing) definition of wisdom reflected the larger intellectual revitalization that had been underway since the twelfth century, and that had already introduced a new emphasis on learning in the realm of princely ideals. With the growth of royal and baronial administrations and the new enthusiasm for Roman legal principles, a basic competence in letters was coming to seem ever more fundamental to effective lordship. “An unlettered king is like a crowned ass,” John of Salisbury famously wrote in 1159, and lesser lords, too, strove to prove their literacy. A twelfth-century chronicle of the counts of Anjou glorified their ancestor by describing him as “profoundly instructed in letters, in the rules of the grammatical art and in the reasoning of Cicero and Aristotle,” and insisted that “wisdom, eloquence, and letters are as appropriate to counts as to kings.”⁷⁰ From Henry II of England and Philip Augustus in the twelfth century to Frederick II and Alfonso X “el Sabio” of Castile in the thirteenth, legal knowledge appeared as the most desirable and useful form of royal erudition, but patronage of science, philosophy, and vernacular literature also burnished many a prince's reputation.

This emphasis on princely *scientia*, everywhere evident in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, paved the way for the adoption of

⁶⁹ Ibid., 13–18, where the quoted passage appears on 14.

⁷⁰ The story is recounted in a later-twelfth-century Angevin chronicle: *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise*, ed. L. Halphen and R. Poupardin (Paris, 1913), 140.

wisdom in its new Thomistic (or Christian-Aristotelian) form. The reign of Louis IX, Robert's great-uncle, illustrates this transition in process. Pride in the Parisian *studium* led French clerics of his time to exalt learning as one of the three glories of France, represented, alongside faith and chivalry, in the trefoil fleur-de-lys. These qualities of the realm were naturally associated with the king as well. Louis' decision to reopen the suspended Parisian *studium*, for instance, was attributed to his love of letters and philosophy.⁷¹ There is little doubt, however, that piety was the quality most associated with the future saint, and Louis' religious devotion could lead him, in Augustinian fashion, to reject profane knowledge and speculation. Jean de Joinville recorded Louis' exclamation that the best way for a layman to debate with a Jew was to run him through with a sword.⁷² In his lifetime Louis was associated most, among biblical exemplars, with the ever-popular David and with Josias. Still, Solomon, symbol of wisdom, had already made an appearance in the royal *ordo* probably composed during Louis' reign, and in following decades this association would become more prominent. A later chronicler, embellishing the story of Louis' reopening of the Parisian *studium*, remarked not on his love of letters and philosophy but on the fount of wisdom he thereby preserved; Pope Boniface VIII, celebrating Louis' canonization in 1297, took as his sermon's theme 3 Kings 10:23, *So king Solomon was magnified above all the kings of the earth for wisdom and for riches*.⁷³

By this time Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* of 1279 had appeared, a work that was fundamental in translating Aquinas' ideas into the realm of princely advice. A showcase of the new Christian Aristotelianism, Giles' treatise borrowed heavily from Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics* to cast political society in a positive light, while

⁷¹ Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis* (Paris, 1996), 353–356.

⁷² Jean de Joinville, in his "Life of Saint Louis," recorded the king as saying that "'a layman, whenever he hears the Christian religion abused, should not attempt to defend its tenets, except with his sword, and that he thrust into the scoundrel's belly, and as far as it will enter.'" Cited from the translation of M.R.B. Shaw, *Joinville and Villehardouin. Chronicles of the Crusades* (London and New York, 1963), 175.

⁷³ Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, charts on pp. 392–401 the predominance of David and Josias as biblical types for Louis, and the mixed reputation Solomon still evoked. The addition of Solomon to the royal *ordo*, and Boniface VIII's later sermon, are noted on 395–96; the later addition to Guillaume de Nangis' chronicle on Louis is cited on 354.

still subordinating that society to its higher, Christian ends.⁷⁴ Part of that project was articulating the ideal of the Christian-Aristotelian wise king. As earthly and heavenly governance were related, so were earthly and heavenly knowledge, Giles observed; it was the possession of both *scientia* and *sapientia* that distinguished the true king from the tyrant.⁷⁵ Such ideas had been circulating for some decades, but Giles' treatise popularized them in an unprecedented way: as one scholar has observed, "no other medieval political work seems to have enjoyed a more rapid or broad diffusion."⁷⁶

Through such means the ideas tentatively articulated during Louis IX's time came to fruition, and perhaps nowhere more than in Robert's circles. Robert acquired a copy of the *De regimine principum* at the start of his reign, in 1310;⁷⁷ both he and his learned attendants were well acquainted with Aquinas' writings, and many in the royal entourage had been trained in theology at Paris, where they could have encountered such ideas directly. Certainly their conception of *sapientia* conformed to that expounded by Thomas and Giles. On the one hand it involved wisdom's very close association with *scientia*, or rationally acquired knowledge of earthly things. As the French prelate Bertrand de Turre observed in a sermon on Robert's son Charles of Calabria, "although the Apostle [Paul] distinguishes between *sapientia* and *scientia*, as do Augustine and Aristotle, nevertheless holy scripture often employs one to mean the other. Thus I wish to speak only about wisdom, and about knowledge under its rubric."⁷⁸ Arnald Royard, in the *Opus moralium* he dedicated to Robert, defined *scientia* as knowledge of natural and moral matters, but also

⁷⁴ Giles of Rome, *De regimine principum libri III*, ed. H. Samaritanus (Rome, 1607; repr. Aalen, 1967). See also Richard Scholz, *Die Publizistik zur Zeit Philipps des Schönen und Bonifaz VIII* (Stuttgart, 1903; repr. Amsterdam, 1962), 96–119; R. Lambertini, "Egidio Romano lettore ed interprete della Politica nel terzo libro del *De regimine principum*," *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 1 (1990), 277–325.

⁷⁵ These points are highlighted in Wilhelm Berges' analysis of Giles' treatise: *Die Fürstenspiegel des hohen und späten Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1938), 215–216.

⁷⁶ Krynen, *L'Empire du roi*, 179, who discusses the tract in the tradition of medieval mirrors of princes, and with special reference to the ideal of the wise king, at 179–185, 212–213.

⁷⁷ Boyer has documented the great influence of Aquinas' writings at the Angevin court: see "Parler du roi," 213–217. Robert's order to copy and illuminate the *De regimine principum* is recorded in Camillo Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia di Carlo II d'Angiò, re di Napoli," *ASP* 7 (1882), 221.

⁷⁸ "Sciendum quod quamvis Apostolus distingvat inter sapientiam et scientiam . . . et secundum etiam Augustinum, ibi supra, et etiam secundum Aristotelem, sexto

of divine ones.⁷⁹ Guglielmo da Sarzano, one of Robert's favored familiars, insisted that

a wise king or prince is not he who is learned in just one science or doctrine, but he who, through the clarity of his intelligence, is sufficient unto himself in all things which are convenient or proper to the direction of human life. . . . He should have the power to examine all knowable things and to discuss all disputable things, so that however distinguished he be in exterior things, however capable in difficult matters, among philosophers of whatever kind—of discourse or of natural sciences, of mathematics or morals—in the midst of the learned he too, may appear learned, may know and understand with that wise man Philo, in Wisdom, chapter 6, the wisdom or true knowledge divinely given him.⁸⁰

As we saw above, observers regularly commented on the breadth of Robert's learning, which they sometimes described as wisdom. Federico Franconi described Robert as a "wise" philosopher and statesman; Remigio de' Girolami could call him "wise" in letters and natural science. They were looser in their terminology than Aquinas, but the spirit of their comments reflected one of the signal points of his definition: wisdom was not a purely pious submission to God, but related to a naturally acquired erudition. François de Meyrnonnes went so far as to dedicate a tract to proving that erudition (*peritia litterarum*) was necessary in a king, for it was the foundation of knowledge and wisdom. He underscored that this erudition was naturally acquired by noting that "wisdom is learned with difficulty."⁸¹

Ethicorum, scriptura tamen sacra sepe unum sumit pro alio. Unde et ego nunc tantum volo loqui de sapientia, et sub eius nomine de scientia." In the sermon inc. "*Propter sapientiam*," cited in d'Avray, *Death and the Prince*, 139n.

⁷⁹ The work is a sort of dictionary arranged in alphabetical order, in which under "scientia" he wrote, "prima consistit in cognitione naturalium . . . secunda in cognitione moralium . . . tertia in cognitione divinorum sive celestium." MS Vat. Lat. 7630, fol. 122v.

⁸⁰ "Sapientem vero talem dico regem ac principem non in una tantum peritum scientia vel doctrina, set qui pro sue intelligentie claritate in omnibus per se sufficiens que humane vite regimini sunt accomoda. . . . Potens sit disserere de omni scibili, discutere de omni discutibili, ut quantumcumque sit distinctus ad extrinseca, quantumcumque artatus ad ardua, inter quoscumque philosophos sermocinales vel naturales, mathematicos vel morales, in medio doctorum appareat ipse doctor, sciat et recognoscat cum illo sapiente Philone, Sap. 6, datam sibi divinitus sapientiam seu scientiam veram." I have translated "sermocinales" in the general sense of discourse, but Guglielmo may have meant specifically preaching. The tract is edited by F. Delorme, "Fratris Guillelmi," 221–244; this passage appears on 243.

⁸¹ François' *questio*, inc. "Utrum principi terreno sit necessaria peritia litterarum"

On the other hand, wisdom was more than earthly knowledge, as even those writers who used the term loosely were aware. It was knowledge of God (or, as these writers put it, theology), and in its highest form could only come through divine revelation. As François de Meyronnes noted, “Saint Augustine distinguishes between knowledge and wisdom, such that the superior position of eternal reason and the inferior position of temporal things is understood.”⁸² Bartolomeo da Capua stated in his coronation speech that Robert was crowned with wisdom “since this king is profoundly imbued and instructed in sacred theology, which treats of God and of divine things, and comes by divine means;” the king’s knowledge was another matter, linked to his mastery of logic and moral philosophy. Robert himself, in his treatise on the Beatific Vision, reflected on both the close union between knowledge and wisdom and their subtle distinction. For one thing—in keeping with Aquinas’ dictum that philosophy was itself a kind of wisdom—Robert was willing to use his proficiency in philosophy to challenge the theological authority of the pope. His textual debate with John XXII over the Beatific Vision had started with an exchange of theological authorities, but when the pope insisted on his position, sending a list of another hundred authorities supporting his views, Robert refuted the pope’s stance on the basis not of theologians but of pagan philosophers. It was an eloquent demonstration of his confidence in erudition: a secular prince, drawing on secular philosophy, dared to contradict Christ’s vicar on matters of faith. Yet his explanation preserved the distinction between a secular and a Christian wisdom: “it should be known that we add philosophy by the authority of theology, for both derive from the same source, that is, the Holy Spirit, according to St. Ambrose . . . but theology principally, philosophy only by consequence.”⁸³ In one of

(hereafter *Peritia*), is cited from Vat. Chigi B V 69, fols. 179r–182v. “Oportet principem excellere in virtutibus intellectualibus ut dictum est. Sed iste non habentur sine peritia litterarum, cum inter eas sint sapientia et scientia que adiscuntur in litterali doctrina. . . . Verum est quod sapientia adiscitur cum difficultate”: at fols. 180v, 182v.

⁸² “Distinguit beatus Augustinus (12 et 14 ‘De trinitate’) scientiam et sapientiam, ita quod positio superior rationis est intenta eternis et inferior temporalibus”: from François’ *Tractatus quomodo principatus temporalis*, Vat. Chigi B V 69, fols. 3r–10v, at 4v.

⁸³ “Sed insuper sciendum quod auctoritate theologice philosophicam adicimus, quia utraque ab eodem principio, scilicet Spiritu Sancto, est, secundum illud Ambrosii Super Lucam: *Veritas a quocumque dicatur a Spiritu Sancto est*; licet prima principaliter, alia consequenter.” Cited from the edition of Dykmans, *La vision bienheureuse*, 58.

his sermons Robert again asserted both the proximity of wisdom and knowledge and their distinction, this time emphasizing more their different sources. One could define wisdom as knowledge of arts or of metaphysics, he observed, but “theology can most properly be called wisdom, since it is most divine and deals with those highest divine causes—not, like philosophy, through human investigation, whereby many falsehoods are mixed with truths, but through divine means, that is, by revelation, according to which nothing false can be said.”⁸⁴

In short, the king, through his intellectual labor, ascended the ladder of human knowledge, mastering all fields of earthly learning; but at the summit he was rewarded with the gift of wisdom—a godlike understanding, imbued through revelation, and unerring. It was in this sense that Federico Franconi could claim Robert’s wisdom made him superior to his father and grandfather, superior to all other kings descended from the Capetian line. If Robert could claim a certain sacred quality through his vassalage to the Church and through his parentage, here he could claim a sacrality conferred by God directly on his person.

Significantly, just as this learned wisdom was being hailed in royalty at Robert’s court, it was transforming early-fourteenth-century notions of sainthood. The first example of this “striking evolution of saints’ attitudes toward study,” was none other than Robert’s brother, Louis of Anjou.⁸⁵ For his wisdom to qualify as a proof of sanctity, it had to appear as a divine gift: thus one witness testified that Louis’ wisdom seemed more a divine infusion than the product of human talent or study. Indeed, André Vauchez has observed that “the theme of innate—as opposed to acquired—learning was very popular in the fourteenth century in processes of canonization;

This fourth section of the treatise is discussed in detail by Christian Trottman, *La vision béatifique. Des disputes scolastiques à sa définition par Benoît XII* (Rome, 1995), 706–710, who, however, interprets Robert’s position as more radically secular and humanist.

⁸⁴ “Propriissime potest dici theologia sapientia quia maxime est divina et tractat de divinis et altissimis causis, et non, sicut philosophia, per investigationem humanam, ob quam veris multa falsa miscuerunt, sed etiam modo divino, scilicet per revelationem, secundum quam nichil falsum potest cadere.” In the sermon inc. “*Si quis sapientiam*,” preached to honor the promotion of Bartolomeo, Count of Salerno, to the mastership in canon law: Bibl. Ang. 151, fols. 172r–175v, at fols. 172v–173r.

⁸⁵ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 346. On the emphasis on Louis’ erudition in his *Life* and in the testimony for his canonization see also Margaret Toynbee, *St. Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonization in the Fourteenth Century* (Manchester, 1929), 64–65.

it made it possible to reconcile the learning which was increasingly common among the saints as a result of the spread of education, with the conventions of traditional hagiography.”⁸⁶ Yet observers also acknowledged the human contribution to wisdom, replicating that balance between *scientia* and *sapientia*, between the naturally acquired and the divinely bestowed, that characterized the Thomistic conception of wisdom. One preacher wrote that “clarity of wisdom was [Louis’] inborn gift, for his knowledge was so great and of such a kind that he subtly and powerfully disputed the most difficult theological questions with great clerics.”⁸⁷ Bertrand de Turre made Louis’ “shining learning” and the “light of his knowledge and grace in teaching” the centerpiece of other sermons, and Robert too emphasized his brother’s intellectual gifts.⁸⁸ The second exemplar this saintly wisdom was Thomas Aquinas himself, and in his case the significance of learning was even more marked. His personal behavior figured little in his canonization proceedings, and few standard miracles were attributed to him; his holiness was based principally on his writings, and therefore was “primarily intellectual and doctrinal.”⁸⁹ Canonized in 1317 and 1323 respectively, these two saints inaugurated that new trend Vauchez has identified in the fourteenth century, in which “*studium* came closest to *sanctitas*, to the point of becoming one of its constituent elements.”⁹⁰

It can be no accident that this trend was inaugurated in the pontificate of Robert’s close ally John XXII, and that its first two exemplars were saints closely linked to the Angevin court. The root conception of royal wisdom and holy wisdom was the same, and was propounded by many of the same learned men who travelled between Naples and Avignon. The parallels extended even to visual

⁸⁶ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 403; the comment from Louis’ canonization process, “magis videbatur divini infusio quam humani ingenii et studio exquisitio,” appears on 523n.

⁸⁷ “Claritas sapientie . . . fuit eius ingenium quia talis ac tante fuit scientie ut de fortissimis sacre theologie questionibus et cum clericis magnis potenter et subtiliter disputaret.” From the sermon inc. “*Puer eram ingeniosus*”: MS Vat. Borgh. 138, at fol. 240r.

⁸⁸ Cf. Bertrand de Turre’s sermon inc. “*Quasi stella matutina*” on Louis’ “doctrine refulgentiam” and another, inc. “*Quasi sol refulgens*,” on his “lumen scientie et gratie docendo”: both Assisi, Bibl. Com., MS 543, at fols. 238v, 240r. Robert’s sermon on his brother, inc. “*Coronam aurea super mitram*,” is edited in Edith Pásztor, *Per la storia di San Ludovico d’Angiò (1274–1297)* (Rome, 1955), 69–81.

⁸⁹ Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 347.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 404.

representation. The best-known image of Thomas Aquinas is the fresco “The Apotheosis of Christian Learning” in the Florentine church of Santa Maria Novella, which highlighted the links between learning and virtue (Plate 13). Here an enthroned Thomas sits in majesty, with seven personified virtues floating in the air above him; at his feet are allegorical representations of the seven liberal arts and seven theological sciences, trampling underfoot as many proponents of heretical error.⁹¹ Three decades earlier, the Angevin “Bible of Malines” featured on its guardleaf a full-page illumination of king Robert entitled *Rex Robertus, rex expertus in omni scientia* (Plate 14).⁹² He too is enthroned, blessed by Christ and the Virgin who “float” in the corners above him, and surrounded by eight allegorical figures who trample their opposites underfoot. Given the image’s title, one might expect these allegorical figures to be the seven liberal arts; instead they are eight personified virtues, trampling underfoot seven vices and the devil himself. Conversely, on the king’s imposing tomb, Robert is depicted in the company not of the virtues, as might seem more appropriate, but of the seven liberal arts (Plate 6). Taken together, these representations of the wise king conveyed a message very similar to the Aquinas fresco. Founded on learning, linked to virtue, conquering vice, conferring majesty: here was a wisdom both holy and royal. The hallowed tradition of sacral kingship found a new permutation in wisdom. Indeed, if Robert was saintlike in his possession of wisdom, he was priestlike in his dissemination of it: a sacerdotal king, Remigio de’ Girolami had called him, referring to his preaching, while the same “Bible of Malines” reproduced Robert’s distinctive profile in its image of the wise Ecclesiastes, who with raised finger instructed his gathered audience (Plate 15).

Wisdom: Queen of Virtues, or Feminized Vice?

If analogous to saint and priest, the king was nevertheless supreme in his own secular sphere. Here, holy wisdom was his special prerogative, and to his supporters, it was not only a desirable royal

⁹¹ The fresco, painted by Andrea da Firenze between 1366 and 1368, is discussed by Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death* (Princeton, 1951; repr. 1978), 99–100.

⁹² On this Bible see below, n. 121, and Chapter Two at n. 37.

virtue, but the source of all others. As theology was, for medieval scholars, the “queen of sciences,” so wisdom was presented by Robert’s supporters as the queen of virtues, generatrix of his piety, justice, and prudence. Bartolomeo da Capua, for instance, implied that Robert’s role as champion and loyal son of the Church was linked to his wisdom. Canticles 3:11, *Behold King Solomon with the crown where-with his mother crowned him*, applied literally to Robert’s own coronation; for if Robert were another Solomon “on account of his wisdom,” the mother who crowned him was “holy mother Church or the aforesaid highest pontiff, who is in the Church and the Church in him.”⁹³ Guglielmo da Sarzano stressed that wisdom made the king worthy to assume the role of pious protector of the Church. “Such a king, so sufficient and abundant in all good things is like another Joshua, encompassing and carrying before him the ark of God, that is, the Holy See, like one to whom its protection and custody are specially entrusted; he will subdue Jericho, that is, the malign company of rebels and infidels, with his encircling wisdom and power.”⁹⁴ As for justice, Bartolomeo da Capua stressed that its proper execution required a thorough knowledge of law: “the just man ponders the word of the law equitably and measuredly, and in his knowledge is more useful.”⁹⁵ For François de Meyronnes, justice required not just learning, but wisdom. “Legal justice is the principal ruling virtue,” he conceded, echoing the classic valorization of royal justice, but “no one can ordain an optimal law without wisdom. . . . Indeed, no one would know how to decree or even discern optimal laws without true wisdom.”⁹⁶ Robert too, as noted in Chapter Four,

⁹³ “*Regem Salomonem*, id est predictum regem Sicilie qui per quamdam participationem potest dici *Salomon* ratione sue sapientie, ut supra tactum est; *in diademate quo coronavit eum mater sua*, scilicet sancta mater Ecclesia vel iam dictus summus pontifex qui est in Ecclesia et Ecclesia in ipso.” In his coronation sermon, inc. “*Coronavit eum Aaron in vasis virtutis*,” edited in Boyer, “Parler du roi,” 242.

⁹⁴ “Talis rex in omnibus bonis sic sufficiens et habundans quasi alter Josue, archam Dei, sedem scilicet apostolicam, circumferens et preferens velut cui specialiter ad defensionem et custodiam est commissa, Jericho, rebellium scilicet et infidelium congregationem malignam, sue sapientie et potentie circuitu subjugabit.” From the edition of F. Delorme, “Fratris Guillelmi,” 244.

⁹⁵ “Iustus eque et mensurate ponderat verba legis, in scientia sua utiliter.” In a funeral sermon preached for a professor of civil law, cited in Lorenz Enderlein, *Die Grablagen des Hauses Anjou in Unteritalien* (Worms am Rhein, 1997), 102n.

⁹⁶ *Peritia* (see above, n. 81) at fol. 179v: “cum iustitia legalis sit principis principalis virtus . . .” The primacy of wisdom is repeated on the following two folios:

regularly associated wisdom and justice. Justice required a “intellectual and theoretical conception,” a “practical wisdom, applied and related to justice;” for peacemaking, it was *the wise man* who *turns away wrath*.⁹⁷

François de Meyronnes, one of the few courtiers to laud royal prudence, attributed it too, like justice, to wisdom: “a person rules well when he directs his subjects according to right reason, but this is prudence, not wisdom. . . . Prudence principally has its essential origin in wisdom . . . and hence such prudence cannot be had without wisdom.”⁹⁸ Robert too, who expounded the virtues provided by prudence—careful reflection, foresight, and appropriate action—defined wisdom as their ultimate source. “The wisdom of God distinguishes rather than confuses, and creates order among disparate things through designation. And these words are fitting: for power, when not ordered by wisdom, would be impetuous . . . benevolence, if not ordered by wisdom, would be ridiculous.” Robert’s exemplar of this wisdom was that same Joseph whom he invoked in his diplomatic sermons, whose “wisdom and prudence” allowed him to provide for his people.⁹⁹

Even the “imperial” destiny some admirers exhorted Robert to fulfil was associated with his wisdom. Thus when Remigio de’ Girolami stressed Robert’s title as King of Jerusalem, and noted that like David he was literally “constituted king on Mount Zion,” he added that “he is also morally *on Zion*, since by reason of illuminating wisdom

“nullus potest legem optimam ordinare sine sapientia” (fol. 180r); “nullus autem sciret optimas leges statuere nec vere discernere sine vera sapientia” (fol. 180v).

⁹⁷ The citations, from three different justice-related sermons, are discussed above, Chapter Four, at nn. 173, 175, 188–9.

⁹⁸ *Peritia*, fols. 182r–v: “Unusquisque bene principatur quando subditos bene regulat secundum rectam rationem, sed talis est prudentia non sapientia. . . . Prudentia principalius habet originem essentialem ad sapientiam, sicut ergo ad premissas, et ideo talis prudentia sine sapientia haberi non potest.”

⁹⁹ “Dei sapientia non confundens sed distinguens, et ordinans inter varii designatione. Et bene conveniunt hec predicta, nam . . . potentia sine sapientia ordinante foret impetuosa . . . benivolentia absque sapientia ordinante foret ridiculosa”: Bibl. Ang. 151, fols. 236v–246r, at 237r. The first line of the sermon, which bears no rubric, indicates that it was preached “ad laudem beati Petri martiris.” Possibly it was preached on a diplomatic occasion, for its remarks are similar to his diplomatic sermons, and its theme echoes the injured tone he took, for instance, with faithless Guelf allies. Taken from Luc. 20:12, it cites one of Christ’s parables about a mistreated servant of the lord: “and again [the lord] sent a third, and they wounded him also, and cast him out.” Cf. the sermon to Tuscan and Bolognese allies cited in Chapter Five at nn. 115–17.

Zion is interpreted as 'watchtower.' Nothing can be perceived, however, nor can we see, without light . . . and wisdom is intellectual light. Like that saying of Ecclesiastes 2 [13], *then I saw that wisdom excels folly as much as light excels the darkness*. Whence it is true what is said in Proverbs, *the king will reign and he will be wise*. And this should be said of Robert, that is, 'possessing strength' by reason of his magisterial and profound wisdom."¹⁰⁰ If Robert was another David, chosen by God as king of his holy city, it was on account of that wisdom through which he fulfilled the proverb's prophecy. Indeed, Remigio's association was doubtless inspired by the passage in Ecclesiasticus where a personified Wisdom proclaims, *I was established on Zion, and settled in the sanctified city, and held authority over Jerusalem*.¹⁰¹

Ultimately—and this may explain its identification as the source of all virtue—wisdom formed the bridge between the mind of God and the world of men. Therefore it was destined to find its home in the person who, at the pinnacle of human society, formed the link between God's ordained order and the order of earthly governance. So stated François de Meyronnes: "as God understands his creation through the same action of wisdom through which he perceives his own essence, so princes regulate the human realm through the same act of wisdom through which they perceive the superior realm." Princes did not possess this *habitus* or indwelling capacity for wisdom formally, as God did, but by analogy. The wise king was not God, but he was God's delegate in the realm of human governance.¹⁰² Thus, François concluded, "God ordained that he who is wisest of all should be king."¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ "Iste enim est rex Jerusalem de iure, sed et hoc moraliter verum est *super Syon*, qualiter ratione illuminative sapientie Syon enim interpretatur specula. Nichil autem speculari vel videre possumus sine lumine, secundum Philosophum in secundo De Anima, et Apostolum Eph. 5, lumen autem intellectuale sapientia est. Iuxta illud Ecclesiastes 2, *vidi quod tantum precederet sapientia stultitiam quam differt lux a tenebris*. Unde verum est de eo illud Prov. 33 [*sic*], *Regebit rex et sapiens erit*. Ut sic bene dicatur Robertus, id est 'robur tenens,' ratione magistralis et profunde sapientie." From the sermon inc. "*Ego autem constitutus sum rex ab eo super Syon*," Florence, Bibl. Naz., MS G 4 936, fol. 351v. For the phrase attributed to Proverbs, cf. Jer. 23:5.

¹⁰¹ Ecclesiasticus 24:15, "*et sic in Sion firmata sum, et in civitate sanctificata similiter requievi, et in Jerusalem potestas mea*."

¹⁰² "Sicut Deus eodem actu sapientiali quo intellegit essentiam suam, cognoscit creaturam, ita principes eodem actu sapientiali quo cognoscunt superiora, regulant humana; et si non eodem habitu formaliter saltem eodem secundum analogiam." From François de Meyronnes' *Peritia* (see above, n. 81), at fols. 182r–v.

¹⁰³ François' statement ("Deus ordinavit quod ille qui est sapientissimus omnium

Robert too, if less flamboyantly, stressed the special relation between kingship and wisdom. "Wisdom is associated with royal excellence on account of the honesty and dignity of the office," he stated, and went on to list the other royal virtues that stemmed from it for the benefit of his people. "Through the effectiveness of this quality, the res publica is preserved: *a multitude of wise men is the health of the world* (Sap. 6). And justice is fortified and enhanced, according to 3 Kings 4: *God gave Solomon wisdom to dispense justice*. Through the amenity of love, the king's mercy is restored: *the wrath of a king is as a messenger of death, but a wise man will pacify it* (Prov. 16)."¹⁰⁴ Guglielmo da Sarzano laid equal stress on the general good resulting from the rule of such a king. "I judge theirs to be a happy fate, who, led by divine providence, are ruled by the prudence of a wise and just king . . . Like another Solomon, most wise, builder of the house of God, he will reign in peace."¹⁰⁵

Not everyone, however, was convinced. The Provençal François de Meyronnes, who was quite sensitive to the criticisms levelled at his king, expressed critics' position succinctly. "The mass of foolish, worldly people say that erudition is not beneficial, but harmful in a temporal prince, since the human mind cannot focus on many things as it can on one. The more it focuses on speculative things, the less it can focus on practical things, and thus it is less well disposed to governance."¹⁰⁶ If such opinions circulated in Paris and Provence,

deberet esse princeps") appears in *Peritia*, fol. 181v. Robert's appears in the sermon inc. "*In labiis sapientis inveniatur scientia* (Prov. 10:13)": Bibl. Ang. 151, fols. 38v–39r. At the start of the sermon Robert identifies three manifestations of wisdom: in the mind, in heart or word, and in deed. He then states, "volumus advertere quantum sapientia vel sapiens hec tria predicta optinet circa regem; nam eis propter honoris honestatem et dignitatem regia excellentia sociatur."

¹⁰⁴ In the sermon inc. "*In labiis sapientis*" (see previous note): "Valoris utilitate res publica salvatur—Sap. 6: *multitudo sapientium sanitas est orbis terrarum*. Et iustitia roboratur et decoratur, unde 3 Reg. 4: *Salamoni dedit Deus sapientiam* ad faciendum iudicium. Delectationis amenitate regis clementia restauratur—Prov. 16: *indignatio regis nuntius est mortis, et vir sapiens placabit eam*."

¹⁰⁵ "Felicem quoque sortem illorum reputo, qui divina providentia previa, sapientis regis et justi gubernantur prudentia. . . . Quasi alter Solomon sapientissimus, domum Dei edificans, regnabit pacifice." In the edition of F. Delorme, "Fratris Guillelmi," 242, 244.

¹⁰⁶ *Peritia*, fols. 180r–v: "dicit vulgus insipientium hominum temporalium quod principibus temporalium non prodest sed obest peritia litterarum, quia intellectus humanus non potest ita esse intentus ad plura sicut ad unum. Quanto enim plus intendit circa speculabilia, tanto minus circa agibilia et ita minus bene se habet ad principatum gubernandum."

where François spent his life, they were also heard in Tuscany. Robert's most famous critic was Dante Alighieri, who described Robert in his *Divine Comedy* as devious and avaricious, but above all unsuited for kingship due to his futile intellectualizing: "you make a king of one that is fit only for sermons, so that your track is off the road."¹⁰⁷ Dante had personal reasons for stigmatizing Robert: a White Gueft exiled from his beloved Florence by the Angevin-allied Blacks, he had pinned great hopes on the Italian campaign of Emperor Henry VII that Robert had helped to quash. But Dante's views were seconded by Tuscans within the Angevin alliance. The poet Pietro Faytinelli, native and exile of Lucca, wrote several sonnets blaming Robert for the misfortunes of Tuscan Guefts. "Do not place your hope in that lazy king, Charles' heir," opened a sonnet written during Henry VII's descent through Tuscany in late 1312. Pietro closed the sonnet by addressing Robert directly: "stay, then, in Naples or Aversa, in Capua, Teano or, if you wish, Calvi: the eagle [Henry VII] has already landed in San Salvi. Alas! . . . the Gueft party was about to be destroyed: [but] now you sermonize, and say 'firstly' and 'thirdly.'"¹⁰⁸ For such writers, Robert's preaching was the symbol of a whole style of rule that they found wanting. He was unmartial, inconstant, avaricious; he would not avenge the Gueft defeat at Montecatini in 1315, according to one balladeer, for fear of reducing the wealth he hoarded in his infamous "Brown Tower."¹⁰⁹ To Folgore di San Gimignano, Robert's pacifism was equally distasteful: less than a year after his own brother and nephew had fallen at Montecatini, the king was willing to make peace with Ghibelline Pisa, "with no concern for those ill-fated bodies left to the wolves in the desert."¹¹⁰ Even Niccolò Rosso of Treviso, who had once

¹⁰⁷ From Dante's *Paradiso*, canto VIII. For the full passage see the Introduction above, at n. 1.

¹⁰⁸ "Non sperì 'l pigro re di Carlo erede/. . . Stiasi pur in Napoli or in Aversa, in Capua, Teano o vuol in Calvi/ chè l'aquila ha ghermito già San Salvi!/ Oimè . . . la parte guefta fu in esser dispersa/ or sermoneggi, e dica prima e tersa." Printed in *Sonetti burleschi e realistici dei primi due secoli*, ed. A.F. Massera, with additional notes by L. Russo (Bari, 1940), 186 (Sonnet VII), with notes on the sonnet's context and date at 387.

¹⁰⁹ "Il re Ruberto tante d'avarizia/ per non scemare del colmo della Bruna/ passerà esta fortuna/ e smaltirà il dishonor temendo 'l danno." (The "Bruna" or "Torre Bruna" was a reference to the Angevin royal treasury.) From the "Ballad of the Defeat at Montecatini," printed in *Poeti minori del Trecento*, ed. N. Sapegno (Milan-Naples, 1952), 970-974.

¹¹⁰ "Con Pisa ha fatto pace, quest'è certo; non cura de le carni malfatate che

exhorted the pope to make Robert king of all Italy, was disillusioned by 1324. Cangrande della Scala threatened to conquer his home city, and Robert failed to come to her aid: “king of the cows,” Niccolò called him, “that blind man who makes a peace and gives himself a respite!”¹¹¹ To some he could hardly be called a man: not Robert, according to Faytinelli, but “King Bertha,” effeminate by dint of his passive and cowardly intellectualism.¹¹²

Wisdom as Legitimacy: Robert and Carobert

The criticism levelled at Robert’s chosen image and style gives some sense of its novelty: learned wisdom was not, in the first decades of the fourteenth century, a signature quality guaranteed to meet with general approbation. Given that the main purpose of royal imagery is to offer some form of legitimation, this diffidence invites speculation on why such an image was chosen and emphasized so strongly. That general political-cultural trends pointed in this direction, and that learned wisdom had become newly prominent in intellectual circles familiar to Robert’s supporters, are necessary but not final causes. Nor does Robert’s personal inclination toward study seem a sufficient explanation: one did not leave such an important matter to the vagaries of pastime and habit. Robert and his courtiers were political men, devising and explaining policy in response to particular and often pressing circumstances, and their enthusiasm for royal wisdom, like their defense of Robert’s vassalage or their condemnation

son rimase a’ lupi in quel deserto.” *Sonetti burleschi*, 172 (Sonnet XXX), with commentary at 386. The Angevins who died in the battle of Montecatini (29 August 1315) were Robert’s younger brother Peter, count of Eboli, and Charles, son of Philip of Taranto. The peace with Pisa was contracted on 12 August 1316.

¹¹¹ “Padova non zi secorre nì segue, nì anche il re de la vacche, quel ciego che soda pace e ne mis’en tregua!” Ibid., 233 (Sonnet LXXII), with dating and commentary at 389–90. According to the editor, “king of the cows” was a reference, again, to the “Torre Bruna” and Robert’s avarice, since “Bruna” was a name often given to cows.

¹¹² For example, Pietro Faytinelli’s sonnet X, written in late 1314, where he imagines the imminent victory of Uguccone della Faggiuola as “king of Tuscany” and hears the Ghibellines chanting, “Muoia re Berta, quell’avar trecone!” Both Robert’s vicar in Tuscany, Gherardo da San Lupidio, and his brother Peter had fled the battlefield; as for Robert, “Berta ci vende per empir la Bruna ben meglio.” Ibid., 188, with commentary at 387–88.

of the Holy Roman Empire, may well relate to the particular vulnerabilities of Robert's rule.

In this respect it is worth reflection that both praise and criticism of Robert's wisdom were sometimes linked to the question of his rightful possession of the Neapolitan crown. The issue stemmed from the unusual circumstances surrounding Robert's designation as heir. As was noted in the introduction, Robert was the third son of Charles II, and was not expected, as a youth, to succeed to the throne of Naples. Only with Charles Martel's early death in 1295 and Louis' entrance into the religious life a few months later did Robert emerge as a likely candidate for the crown. He was not, however, the only candidate. Charles Martel was survived by a young son, Carobert. As the firstborn son of the firstborn son of the king, he too had a strong claim to Charles II's crown. But Carobert was a young boy and already claimant to the crown of Hungary when his father died, and in the interests of stability King Charles II and Pope Boniface VIII agreed that Robert, aged seventeen and free of other complicating titles, was the better choice.

In the eyes of many, however, such practical concerns did not mitigate Carobert's legal right to the crown of Naples.¹¹³ The best known of these was, again, Dante, in whose *Paradiso* Charles Martel described the "treacheries his seed was to suffer" through Robert's usurpation of the crown.¹¹⁴ Giovanni Villani and other chroniclers observed that public opinion tended to favor Carobert's rights over Robert's, and even legal experts were uncertain: long after Robert's coronation, the jurist Baldo degli Ubaldi continued to treat his legitimacy as an open question, one indeed that he could not resolve.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ It should be noted that Carobert's claim was not necessarily more compelling than Robert's. According to Edouard Jordan, nothing in the rules of succession laid out in the agreement between the papacy and the Angevin dynasty contradicted Robert's choice as heir: see "Les prétendus droits des Angevins de Hongrie au trône de Naples," in *Mélanges de philologie, d'histoire et de littérature offerts à Henri Hauvette* (Paris, 1934), 61–67. Nor was male primogeniture consistently applied in other European monarchies around 1300. Nevertheless, as Bernard Guenée has observed (*L'Occident*, 135–136), hereditary male succession made for stronger monarchy, and even rulers installed by other means, such as the Valois, quickly tried to reimpose the tradition. Thus while primogeniture was not a hard and fast law, it was a powerful claim to the throne.

¹¹⁴ *Paradiso*, canto IX, 1–3. Dante is speaking here to Charles Martel's widow, Clemenza: "Da poi che Carlo tuo, bella Clemenza/m'ebbe chiarito, mi narrò li 'nganni/che ricever dovea la sua semenza."

¹¹⁵ On chroniclers' witness that "public opinion was not favorable to Robert and

Robert's court was well aware of such views. In a sermon on St. Louis of Anjou, for example, François de Meyronnes acknowledged that many doubted Robert's legitimate possession of the Regno.¹¹⁶

The existence of this rival claimant had a notable impact on Angevin policy and publicity. Even before Pope Boniface VIII officially proclaimed Robert heir in February 1297, Charles II had required all barons of the realm to recognize him as such, and had referred to him already as *primogenitus*—a technical term meaning heir-apparent, but one whose literal meaning, ironically, underscored the legal importance of precedence in birth.¹¹⁷ Twelve years later, when Charles II died and Robert was poised to realize his claim, the threat posed by Carobert was no less menacing, for by now he was a grown man and powerful king of Hungary in his own right, and continued to make plain his rights to Naples.¹¹⁸ This is doubtless one reason why, at Robert's coronation, his ministers stressed that he had been designated by his father, and indeed had been king already in his father's lifetime. In his speech celebrating the coronation, Bartolomeo da Capua argued that "this crown that is given, is not given to him as to a new or upstart king, but as to the hereditary successor, king indeed while his father lives. For the firstborn is called king during his father's lifetime, as Gregory says in chapter 'Cepit Herminegildus,' 24, question one."¹¹⁹ Sometime between 1309 and 1316, the jurist Andrea d'Isernia made the same point in his commentary on the legal code of the realm.¹²⁰ Like Charles II's earlier insistence on baronial acceptance, such statements presented Robert's succession as a *fait accompli*. But Carobert's claims did not disappear—in the early 1330s ambassadors' reports stated that he was poised to invade the

saw him as a usurper," S. Pellegrini, *Il pianto anonimo provenzale per Roberto d'Angiò* (Turin, 1934), 78–79; on Baldo's legal discussion of the issue, Carlo de Frede, "Da Carlo I d'Angiò a Giovanna I," in *Storia di Napoli*, vol. 3 (Naples, 1969), 158, and Émile Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples* (Paris, 1954), 317.

¹¹⁶ See below at n. 124.

¹¹⁷ See Romolo Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò e i suoi tempi*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1922–30), 1: 7, and Boyer, "Parler du roi," 229–230.

¹¹⁸ Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 1: 102.

¹¹⁹ "Hec enim corona que data est sibi non est ei exhibita tanquam novo regi vel adventicio, sed tanquam hereditario successori et regi etiam predicto patre vivente. Primogenitus quidem regis dicitur rex, vivente patre, sicut dicit Gregorius in c. Cepit Herminegildus, XXIII, q. Prima." See the edition of "Parler du roi," 237.

¹²⁰ "Filius regis est rex, sicut dicit Gregorius de Hermengildo, 24, q. 1": from Andrea's *Proemium*, in *Constitutionum regni Siciliarum libri III*, vol. 1, ed. A. Cervoni (Naples, 1773), xxvi.

kingdom if Robert absented himself from the realm—and neither did the Angevin's attempts to “erase” him from the lineage. This erasure was portrayed visually in the “Bible of Malines,” that great repository of Robert's ruling imagery, in a full-page illumination of the first three Angevin generations (Plate 16). In the top register, Charles I lays his hand on the head of Charles II, indicating the rightful succession; in the middle register, an enthroned Charles II turns to his sons in a similar fashion, while in the bottom register Robert himself appears enthroned. The intriguing part of this illumination is the middle register, where Charles II turns to his sons: for at his side are depicted Louis and Robert, but not Charles Martel. In his place is a third figure who can only be Charles of Calabria, for he presents to his father Robert his own daughters, the kingdom's eventual heiresses. In this way the unusual succession of Robert and the equally unusual choice of his granddaughter as heir were both presented as a natural passage no different from that between Charles I and Charles II.¹²¹

The efforts to legitimize Robert's doubtful succession were aided by the canonization in April 1317 of Louis of Anjou, whose sanctity was immediately exploited for these ends in an altarpiece that Robert commissioned from Simone Martini (Plate 1). This work is one of the masterpieces of early Trecento painting, and certainly the greatest surviving work of art from Robert's reign. It was also a powerful statement of Robert's rightful succession, in which St. Louis, framed by the Angevin fleur-de-lys and himself crowned by angels, conferred the earthly crown of Naples upon his brother Robert.¹²² It was most likely located originally in a chapel dedicated to Saint Louis, finished no later than 1320, in the church of Santa Chiara,

¹²¹ This illumination fixes the dating of the manuscript to between 1330 and 1343: it must postdate Joanna's selection as heir to the throne (1330), since she and her sister Maria are presented as such in the middle and bottom registers, but certainly dates from Robert's reign, both because this image does not picture Joanna enthroned and because other illuminations are focused wholly on Robert. See Bologna, *I pittori*, 276–7, who dates it on stylistic grounds to circa 1340. The “replacement” of Charles Martel by Charles of Calabria has not, to my knowledge, been noted previously.

¹²² That the image served to legitimize Robert's exclusive rights to the throne of Naples has been noted by many scholars. In addition to the studies of this altarpiece cited in Chapter Three, n. 91, see see Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse*, 221–222; Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 181 and notes; Émile Bertaux, “Les saints Louis dans l'art italien,” *Revue des deux mondes* 158 (1900), 616–644; Bologna, *I pittori*, 160.

where its dynastic message would be widely visible.¹²³ That message was conveyed in verbal as well as visual means. A statement made by François de Meyronnes in one of his sermons on St. Louis could serve as a virtual exegesis of Simone's painting. "Through this saint the royal majesty was illuminated, since many greatly doubted whether the possessor [i.e. Robert] held the kingdom by right. But this saint removed this doubt when he gave to another the kingdom that he did not wish to keep. For if Louis had given it unjustly, he would not have been a saint."¹²⁴

François again linked Louis' sanctity and Robert's legitimacy toward the end of the same sermon. After praising Louis' virtues himself, François stated that "the principal exponent of this praise, among the whole royal house, was the prince who succeeded in the kingdom, namely King Robert, since he was a witness of [Louis'] friendly intercourse, counsel, and perfection; about whom Saint Louis said, in effect, the words of 3 Kings 2: our *kingdom*—that is, the temporal kingdom—is *handed over and given to my brother*."¹²⁵ François emphasized Robert's personal intimacy with and devotion to his brother, and implied that Louis reciprocated by preferring Robert for the throne. Given the circumstances of Robert's succession, it is suggestive that the biblical passage François cited had a strong note of resignation: the speaker in 3 Kings 2 is Adonias, who vied for his

¹²³ Though some doubt has surrounded the initial function and placement of this painting, I follow the most recent proposal of Adrian Hoch, "The Franciscan Provenance of Simone Martini's Angevin St. Louis in Naples," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 58, 1 (1995), 28–30.

¹²⁴ "Dico ergo quod per hunc sanctum maiestas regia fuit illuminata, quia multum dubitatur a multis utrum possidens regnum vel regimen ex iustitia teneat. Sed hic sanctus hunc dubium penitus amovit dum regnum quod retinere noluit, alteri dedit. Si autem iniuste dedisset, sanctus non fuisset." In the sermon inc. "*Luce splendida fulgebis*," in *Sermones de sanctis Francisci de Mayronis* (Venice, 1493), fols. 178v–180v, at 178v. The argument has been noted by Boyer, "Parler du roi," 218. Interestingly, a manuscript copy of this sermon, one more flattering to the Angevins overall, seeks to minimize the import of these doubts by asserting that many kings suffered from them: "... maiestas regia fuit illuminata quia (cum in pluribus regnis sepe dubitetur utrum presidentes [ms: presides] regnum ex iustitia teneant) ipse sanctus hunc dubium penitus amovit...": Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Arbaud, MS 21, fols. 108v–110v, at 108v. I thank Robert Lerner for introducing me to this manuscript.

¹²⁵ Citing from the Aix manuscript, at fols. 109v–110r: "Istius autem gaudii similiter in tota domo regia [ms: regii] principalis fuit princeps qui ei successit in regnum, scilicet rex Robertus, quia eius conversationis, consilii, et perfectionis testis; de quo in effectu sanctus Ludovicus dixit, *translatum est regnum nostrum, scilicet temporale, et factum est fratri mei*, 3 Reg. 2 [MS: 1]."

father's throne but was foiled by God's preference for his brother. Louis, of course, did not compete for the throne of Naples—but Carobert did. François' use of this passage, therefore, may have suggested not only the saint's preference for Robert, but the rival's resignation to divine will. *You know*, Adonias says, *that the kingdom was mine, and that all Israel preferred me as king. But the kingdom has been handed over, and given to my brother. Indeed, it has been given to him by God.*

Still, the claim that Louis chose Robert as his replacement had a serious flaw: Louis may well have been willing to give the kingdom to Robert, but it was not necessarily his to give. If the principle of primogeniture were applied, Carobert preceded Louis just as much as he preceded Robert in the succession of firstborn sons. Robert's supporters tried to paper over this fact. François de Meyronnes claimed that Louis "was the *primogenitus* of the king of Sicily, whence the kingdom was owed to him;" Giovanni Regina repeated the claim in nearly identical words in one of his sermons.¹²⁶ By playing on the double meaning of *primogenitus*, these preachers obscured the fact that there was another, literal *primogenitus* among Charles II's sons, and that he had had a firstborn son in turn. Bertrand de Turre and other supporters, more frankly, acknowledged that Louis was only the eldest *surviving* son after Charles Martel's death, but they too ignored Carobert's rights.¹²⁷ This argument seems to have been persuasive with modern scholars, none of whom have noted the equal weakness of Louis' and Robert's claims to succession. And it is true that contemporaries did not challenge Louis' rights. But then, there

¹²⁶ "Fuit primogenitus regis Sicilie, unde debitum ei erat regnum." In the sermon inc. "*Luce [splendida] fulgebis*": Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Arbaud, MS 21, fol. 109r. Giovanni's comment, "predictum sanctum . . . fuit primogenitus regis et ei competeat regnum de iure," is in the sermon inc. "*Salvum fac populum tuum*": Naples, Bibl. Naz., MS VIII AA 11, fol. 69v.

¹²⁷ A sermon by Landulfo Caracciolo or François de Meyronnes (see p. 311 below), inc. "*Produxit filium regis et posuit super eum dyadeam et testimonium* (4 Reg. 11)" hinted at Louis' rights to the succession with this opening theme, then asserted that Louis "fuit primogenitus regis, scilicet mortuo Karolo Mortelo": Assisi, Bibl. Com., MS 513, fols. 75v–77v, at fol. 77r. Bertrand's sermon opened, "*Iuvenis et acutus inveniar in iudicio*, etc., Sap. 8. In festo beati Ludovici, Karoli secundi regis Sicilie illustris filius, et inter filios superstites primogenitus ac per hoc totius regni heredis principali fuerit": Assisi, Bibl. Com., MS 543, fols. 236r–237r, at 236r. A later printed version of François' "*Luce [splendida]*" (see in previous note), which suppressed the manuscript copy's dynastic tone in many ways, inserted this same caveat: Louis "fuerit primogenitus regis *de filiis vivis*, et ideo erat sibi regnum debitum." *Sermones de sanctis Francisci de Mayronis* (Venice, 1493), fol. 163r.

was no need to: Louis never claimed them. The question of his legitimate succession was instantly moot, in practical terms, and by the time he was canonized it was indelicate as well. The claims passed immediately to Robert, and so too, as we have seen, did the doubts. For all the sleight-of-hand performed by Robert's publicists, fourteenth-century observers were not easily convinced.

In the end, Robert resolved this nagging issue by another means: he married his heir Joanna to Carobert's younger son Andrew, who as husband of the queen of Naples would effectively occupy the throne to which his father had laid claim.¹²⁸ A Provençal lament of Robert's death makes clear the connection between Robert's "usurpation" and his arrangements for Joanna's marriage. The poet has Robert say on his deathbed, "Do not be amazed if I invest Andrew with the realm, for this is just and reasonable. Charles Martel, his grandfather and my brother, was born before me: he had better right to the realm than I. I regretted the wrong, therefore I wish the realm to return to his descendants."¹²⁹

It is worth noting, however, that until Charles of Calabria's untimely death in late 1328, Robert had no plans to appease his Hungarian rival in this manner. He had married Charles to princesses of other houses, and certainly fully intended Charles to succeed him as king. Only when faced with the prospect of a young granddaughter as sole direct descendant—an heir doubly vulnerable on account of her youth and her sex—did Robert countenance the possibility of a marriage alliance with Carobert's house. Thus for the first twenty years of his reign, Carobert's persuasive claim to the throne remained a nagging issue which Robert's legitimizing arguments did little to resolve. What proofs could establish Robert's more rightful claim to

¹²⁸ Negotiations with Carobert began in 1329; the marriage was performed in Naples in September, 1333. Whether this marriage made Andrew heir to the throne, or merely consort of the future queen, seems to have been left ambiguous—perhaps intentionally so. Contemporary observers believed that Robert, to repair the injustice done to Carobert, had designated Andrew as his successor; but by the eve of his death in 1343, if not earlier, Robert specified that Joanna alone would inherit the realm, and that Andrew was merely her consort. See Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*, 315–322, 335–337.

¹²⁹ "Nons meravilhes/ Si ay revestit lo rey Andrieu, c'uey es/ del realme, car dreg es e rason:/ Carle Martel, lo sieu avi que fon/ e mon frayre, de mi fon premier nat;/ degra regir miels que yeu lo Regnat./ Constiensa del tort per cert avia/ per que yeu vuellh que als sieus tornat sia." In *Poesie provenzali relative all'Italia*, ed. Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis, 2 vols. (Rome, 1931), 2: 320–321.

the throne? Not his designation by Louis, whose claims suffered the same weakness as Robert's. Not that sacred status Robert gained by dint of his vassalage to the papacy, which his court did so much to publicize, since it would apply to anyone who occupied the Neapolitan throne. Nor did the Angevin emphasis on its *beata stirps* elevate Robert above his rival, since Carobert could, of course, claim the very same holy Capetian-Árpád descent. Indeed, when Carobert was engaged in his own struggle for the Hungarian throne, his supporters made much of the fact that Carobert was "true progeny of the aforesaid [Hungarian] saint-kings," whom the Hungarian people should therefore accept as "the true and legitimate king of Hungary and their natural lord."¹³⁰ Further, Carobert and his queen Elizabeth assiduously promoted the cult of Louis of Anjou, underlining their own close kinship with that "legitimizing" dynastic saint of Naples.¹³¹

In this context, it is possible that the threat posed by Carobert was a contributing factor to Robert's chosen self-image as wise. Like Robert's vassalage to the papacy and his designation by Saint Louis, his wisdom proved (according to his supporters) that Robert was divinely chosen, divinely guided, and unerring. Further, the legitimation provided by wisdom was not transferable to another, nor subject to arguments about precedence of birth: it inhered in Robert's person, a divine gift bestowed on account of his peculiar accomplishments. In his wisdom, Robert could claim a legitimating quality that distinguished him from his nephew and rival.

Indeed, at least two observers conceived of Robert's wisdom as an answer to his doubtful succession. The "Roman Anonymous" wrote in his fourteenth-century chronicle that "this king Robert was a very wise man—so wise that through his wisdom he acquired the crown, though he should not have been king." He even suggested that Robert arranged Carobert's succession to the crown of Hungary in order to make the Neapolitan throne available for himself.¹³² The

¹³⁰ This argument of the papal legate Gentile da Montefiore is cited by Gabor Klaniczay, "Le culte des saints dynastiques en Europe centrale," 226.

¹³¹ Carobert founded a convent in Louis' honor in Lippa in 1325, for instance, while Elizabeth sent gifts to Louis' tomb in Marseilles: for these and other examples see *ibid.*, 228–29.

¹³² *Anonimo Romano. Cronica*, ed. G. Porta (Milan, 1979), 61: "Questo re Ruberto fu omo moito savio, e tanto savio che per sio sapere acquiastao la corona, ca non dovea essere re. Esso anche ordinao che Carlo sio frate consobrino, a chi spettava la corona, fussi chiamato re di Ongaria; e cosi fu donne puoi fu coronato esso." The phrase "frate consobrino," literally brother-cousin, must refer to Carobert

chronicler seems to use “wisdom” ironically, as a euphemism for deviousness, yet he went on to praise Robert’s great learning and beneficial rule. “This king Robert was a man who maintained his kingdom in such peace that . . . the townspeople did not carry arms. . . . He was a very learned man, especially in the art of medicine; he was a great natural scientist and philosopher.”¹³³ The Roman Anonymous’ vision of Robert’s wisdom was ambivalent, reflecting the divergent views that we have traced in other observers of the period; but for good or ill, Robert’s signature quality was, for this writer, linked to the persistent issue of his legitimate succession. Within Robert’s court, too, the king’s wisdom was associated with the issue of his rightful succession, though in a less equivocal manner. Robert’s cadet status was fully overcome by this proof of his divine election, as Queen Sancia asserted in a letter to the Franciscan Chapter General of 1334. “I also firmly believe,” she wrote, “that God and blessed Francis ordained that my lord [Robert]—*who was the third brother*—would be king, and would have all the virtues proper to him and more wisdom and knowledge than have been known of any prince of the world since the time of Solomon.”¹³⁴ Indeed, that Solomon who was so regularly invoked by Robert’s supporters was an apt model for the Angevin in more ways than one. Majestic, sage, with all the theological authority of an Old Testament figure and in intimate colloquy with God, Solomon illustrated how ideal royal wisdom could be. And like Robert, Solomon had been threatened by a rival claimant to his throne. He had asked God for wisdom, and the Lord, pleased with his request, chose Solomon—over his brother—to be king of a chosen people.

Conclusion

That wisdom was proclaimed as Robert’s defining characteristic, the source of all his other virtues and the summation of his style of rule, is amply attested by a host of sources both within and beyond the

(Robert’s nephew). The jurist Luigi di Piacenza made a similar allegation: see Caggese, *Roberto d’Angiò*, 1: 6.

¹³³ “Questo re Ruberto fu omo che mantenne sio reame in tanta pace che . . . la iente delle ville arme non portava. . . . Fu omo granne litterato, e spezialmente nella arte di medicina. Granne fisico fone, e filosofo fone”: *Anonimo Romano*, 61–62.

¹³⁴ See above, n. 48; emphasis added.

royal court. The significance of this choice has rarely been remarked upon: indeed, until the last decade scholars generally dismissed Robert's erudition as mediocre and his literary pursuits as irrelevant, if not indeed detrimental, to his rule.¹³⁵ Yet if we are interested in what kingship meant in the fourteenth century—in how a capable and often innovative ruler conceived of his role, and in how contemporaries perceived him in it—we cannot ignore the overwhelming emphasis that Angevin courtiers and outside observers placed on this one ruling quality. In it was distilled, for good or ill, all the significance of Robert's reign, and that fact, as well as the contestation his image inspired, offers a window on those larger shifts in the practice of kingship in this age.

Firstly, it should be noted that critics quite as much as supporters found wisdom (or its most conspicuous manifestation, preaching) an apt shorthand for Robert's rule. For them it was a quality that made sense of his characteristic vices: his deviousness, his passivity, his baffling politics. Robert was "wise" enough to seize the crown from rival claimants, as the Roman Anonymous implied; he gave learned sermons when he should have gone to war, as Tuscan writers sneered; his love of study obstructed his attention to practical matters, according to the critics noted by François de Meyronnes. For Robert's supporters, of course, wisdom summed up not his vices but his virtues. His personal erudition and familiarity with highest divine knowledge gave him an infallible perspective from which emanated a better justice, a judicious politics, an informed piety and the favor of God. These were, in substance, just different views of a common set of ruling characteristics: a preference for negotiation over war, patience over action, self-interest over partisan loyalties, management of resources over princely largesse, and a profitable leniency over stern justice. For critics such wisdom was a poor substitute for more traditional and "masculine" virtues like forthrightness, martial prowess, loyalty and chivalric largesse. They were not altogether wrong in perceiving something untraditional in Robert's ruling style. For all the long lineage of rulers "wise" in their piety

¹³⁵ Siragusa, *L'ingegno*, 180; Welbore St. Clair Baddeley, *Robert the Wise and his Heirs, 1278–1352* (London, 1897), 276; and Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 2: 364–65, 368, who asserts that Robert's treatises lacked "any particular value . . . nor were the sermons for which he was famous worth much more. . . . The wisdom of the third Angevin sovereign, in sum, did not surpass the borders of mediocrity."

and, increasingly, of considerable learning, Robert was the first European prince to make wisdom in the Christian-Aristotelian sense the very cornerstone of his ruling image, and without those great military feats that had balanced the learned reputation of a Charlemagne or an Alfonso of Castile. As Romolo Caggese long ago observed, Robert performed no deeds worthy of an epic.¹³⁶ It was that lack that made his wisdom all the more unusual and all the more prominent, the virtue on which his reputation so strongly depended.

That those criticized deviations from tradition were salutary and necessary was, of course, the position of Robert's supporters. Wisdom "calmed the mind," avoided impetuosity, guaranteed peace. A growing appreciation for such intellectual qualities is perceptible across the twelfth to fourteenth centuries: it made its way into mirrors of princes, penetrated even the conservative ideals of saintliness, and kept pace, we might observe, with changes in the political landscape. The novelty of Robert's wisdom thus lay principally in its particularly explicit and emphatic affirmation of trends long underway.

Indeed, while a concatenation of intellectual influences, personal inclination, and political exigencies all contributed to the formulation of Robert's wise persona, what made wisdom a durable feature of his ruling image—and not, like his "imperial" or national personae, an idea tried and abandoned—was its basic congruence with the needs and values of its age. Like Robert's ruling style writ large, wisdom was at once old and new, as comfortingly familiar as the biblical Solomon and yet fresh enough to meet the different challenges of a changing age. Wisdom was not the most forward-looking feature of Robert's rule—his prudence was that—but that is certainly why wisdom, and not prudence, was his most vaunted trait. Robert did not, like Machiavelli, audaciously espouse tactics wholly contrary to conventional morality. He might practice treachery and self-interest, but neither he nor his court would have described it as such. Nor indeed does it seem reasonable to assume that they conceived of it as such: divine prescripts and concern for the common good, so regularly invoked in all the court's writings, most likely did infuse Robert's and his supporters' understanding of ideal rule. Wisdom worked so well for the Angevin court because it could

¹³⁶ Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, 1: vii.

encompass both traditional ideals and changing methods, denote Robert's rather conventional piety but also his more unusual political strategies. We might call it a transitional virtue, appropriate for a transitional age—and indeed, as we will see in the following chapter, after the initial hostility it provoked during Robert's reign, wisdom became an increasingly prominent and celebrated ruling virtue throughout Europe in the decades after Robert's death.

CHAPTER SEVEN

WISE KINGSHIP AND THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Robert of Naples died, aged 65, on 20 January 1343. The next day the road between the Castelnuovo and the church of Santa Chiara was cleared, and his body was carried there to be displayed in state for twelve days of solemn exequies. Immediately thereafter, in the first days of February, his successor Joanna ordered that the Tuscan sculptors Pacio and Giovanni Bertini begin building the towering funeral monument through which Robert is still recalled to the minds of visitors to Naples (Plate 6).¹ For his realm, Robert's death marked the end of an era, as many soon recognized. The reign of Joanna I was a catalog of troubles, beginning with the murder of her consort Andrew in 1345. Suspicions of her complicity in the murder were worsened by her quick marriage to her cousin, Louis of Taranto, as ambitious for power as his father had been, and helped provoke an invasion in 1348 by the murdered Andrew's brother, King Louis of Hungary. Adding to the devastation wrought by the Hungarian's army was the general chaos triggered by contestations for the crown, as families and urban factions, aligning with one or another claimant, loosed those local rivalries Robert had long labored to contain. The young queen, meanwhile, had fled to Avignon to plead her innocence and beg protection from the pope, and while she retained her crown until her death in 1382, the rest of her reign was barely less troubled than its opening years.²

In such circumstances, men looked back wistfully on the peace and prosperity of Robert's long reign. Tuscan critiques of his bookishness and effeminacy passed away, and whatever tensions had obtained between Robert and Florence during his life, to mark his death Giovanni Villani remarked not only that he was the wisest

¹ Camillo Minieri-Riccio, "Genealogia di Carlo II d'Angiò, re di Napoli," *ASPN* 8 (1883), 395.

² Émile Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples* (Paris, 1954), 339–469, and for a more detailed analysis of the early years of Joanna's reign, idem., *Histoire de Jeanne I^{re}, Reine de Naples, Comtesse de Provence (1343–1382)*, 3 vols. (Monaco-Paris, 1932–36).

king in five hundred years but “a gentle and loving lord, and a very great friend of our commune of Florence, and endowed with all the virtues.”³ As for his “usurpation” of the Neapolitan throne, if it was still recalled it was not to blame Robert but to explain the ills of Joanna’s reign.⁴ A Provençal poem lamenting Robert’s death, for instance, narrated a deathbed scene in which the remorseful king atoned for his crime by choosing Andrew, his rival’s son, as Joanna’s consort. Tragedy would result from this marriage, but the stain on Robert’s soul was washed away, and what remained was a memory of lost perfection. “O King Robert, the summation, acme, and root of good customs, learned in knowledge, in you we have lost the royal majesty of Sicily!” the poet mourned; “O King Robert, gentle flower of nobility, who will ever find a lord as good as you, who always kept the Provençals in peace?”⁵ Petrarch felt the same sense of loss. Robert was “the star of Italy and great honor of our century,” Petrarch wrote in a letter from the 1360s. “When Robert was borne off . . . there followed such a wretched collapse that all Sicilians realized how much the public welfare had depended on the wisdom and virtue of one man.”⁶ Robert’s preference for negotiation and reflective deliberation may have struck some contemporaries as insufficiently kingly, but with Joanna’s reign—an object lesson in that impetuousness and war he had striven to avoid—the judiciousness of his policy was cast in high relief.

Nostalgia and the stark contrast of his successor’s rule did much to burnish Robert’s memory, as it would centuries later for Elizabeth I of England, another ruler whose tactical (or “vacillating”) politics and negotiatory approach to internal governance, however criticized during her lifetime, managed to maintain relative peace in a troubled time. As with Elizabeth, this golden image was not all the product of idealizing hindsight. Many had praised the virtues of Robert’s

³ “Fu dolce signore e amorevole, e amichissimo del nostro comune di Firenze, e fu di tutte le virtù dotato”: Giovanni Villani, *Cronica*, Book 11, ch. 10.

⁴ Alessandro Barbero, *Il mito angioino nella cultura italiana e provenzale fra Duecento e Trecento* (Turin, 1983), 167–77.

⁵ “Hoy rey Robert, de bons ayps compliment/ Cap e razis, en siensa fondat!/ Perdut avem la real Magestat/ De Cessilia! . . . Hoy rey Robert, gentil flor de nobleza/ Tan bon senhor qui poyra mays trobar? . . . En Prozensa, tengutz los a en patz.” The anonymous poem is printed in *Poesie provenzali storiche relative all’Italia*, ed. V. de Bartholomaeis, 2 vols. (Rome, 1931), 2: 315–327.

⁶ *Rer. Sen.*, III, 4. Cited from *Francis Petrarch. Letters of Old Age*, trans. Aldo Bernardo et al., 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1992), 1: 96.

rule during his lifetime; they did so only more forcefully after his death. Petrarch is a case in point. As we saw in the Introduction, Petrarch came into contact with king Robert in the later 1330s through his friend Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro, and soon decided that only Robert could properly serve as his judge for that highest honor, the poetic laureation. The examination, which took place in 1341, advanced the reputation of both poet and king, and solidified that admiration with which Petrarch ever after described his patron. His planned masterpiece, the epic *Africa*, was dedicated to the Angevin: Robert would be the Augustus to Petrarch's Virgil, immortalized as the patron-prince who ruled over a golden age of poetry and peace. Robert's death less than two years later scrapped this particular dream, but Petrarch continued to recall his memory in the most idyllic terms for the rest of his life. In the early 1350s he wrote to Niccolò Acciaiuoli, seneschal of Queen Joanna's administration, instructing him how to guide Joanna's new consort Louis of Taranto to be another Robert:

I speak of his illustrious and divine uncle, Robert, whose sorrowful death demonstrated how useful his life was to the kingdom. Let [Louis] contemplate that great man. Let him conform to his pattern of life; let him look upon him as though he were seeing him in a flawless mirror. He was wise, he was kind, he was high-minded and gentle, he was the king of kings.⁷

The great man of letters helped reinforce Robert's own belief in the virtue of his erudition, comparing him favorably, for instance, to the coarseness of Philip V of France.⁸ He was the "king of Sicily, or rather, if you consider true excellence, king of kings," Petrarch wrote to the Venetian grammarian Donato Albanzani in 1368, and reiterated the by now classic triple portrait of the first three Angevin kings in which Robert was characterized as wisest.⁹ At the end of his life in 1374 he offered his final paean to the king, in that passage of his autobiographical "Letter to Posterity" where he recalled

⁷ *Rer. Fam.* XII, 2. Cited from Francis Petrarch, *Letters on Familiar Matters: Rerum familiarum libri*, trans. Aldo Bernardo, 3 vols. (Baltimore, 1975–85), 2: 139. The letter was written in 1350 or 1352: see Ernest Wilkins, *Petrarch's Correspondence* (Padua, 1960), 68.

⁸ *Rer. Mem.* I, 37. See *Rerum memorandarum libri*, ed. Giuseppe Billanovich (Florence, 1943).

⁹ *Rer. Sen.* X, 4: ed. cit. at n. 6, 2: 389.

his own cherished poetic laureation. "I decided first to head for Naples, and came to that eminent king and philosopher, Robert, as famous for his culture as for his rule, and the only king of our age who was at once the friend of knowledge and of virtue, so that he might declare what he thought of me."¹⁰

Petrarch's praise was one way that Robert's ideal image spread after his death, for this "most famous private citizen of his day," as Ernest Wilkins has aptly described him, had personal contacts with numerous princely courts and his letters circulated widely among his admirers.¹¹ Robert's royal library was a second means: sacked by Louis of Hungary during his invasion of 1347–48, its contents were scattered throughout western Europe, and with them, as we shall see, the memory of Robert's royal image and court culture.¹² His memory would not have been preserved and celebrated, however, if it did not match Europeans' conception of ideal kingship. Indeed, the later fourteenth century witnessed not only the nostalgic idealization of King Robert, but the emergence of several other European rulers who echoed Robert in their emphasis on royal wisdom and, with variations, in their general style of rule.

In terms of his royal strategy and image, Robert's closest successor was Charles V of France (r. 1364–1380). Indeed, in their circumstances and in their responding strategies the two rulers are almost uncannily similar. Like Robert, Charles V was the third ruler of a new royal dynasty, the Valois; like Robert his legitimacy was rendered all the more fragile by the existence of a rival claimant to his throne. Like Robert, he had inherited a protracted war with a neighboring kingdom in which his own realm had suffered recent humiliating defeats—indeed, in both cases the humiliations included their fathers' capture by the enemy during their youth. In the face of such challenges, Charles devised responses that recall those of his Angevin cousin. Unable to effect easy conquest over obdurate neighbors, Charles V "learned to negotiate rather than to plunge into battle, to argue the justice of his cause in legal terms, and, if necessary, to dissemble to gain his ends." For him as for Robert, this approach represented a departure from the ideal of knightly valor

¹⁰ *Rer. Sen.* XVIII, 1: *ibid.*, 2: 677.

¹¹ Ernest Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch* (Chicago, 1961), 29.

¹² See below, nn. 49–54.

exemplified by predecessors like Philip VI of France or Charles I of Anjou. Charles V had greater success than Robert in regaining lost territory, thanks to military commanders like Bertrand du Guesclin, but he too ruled from his study, not from his saddle.¹³ Barred by circumstance and temperament from cultivating a reputation for military prowess, he too, like Robert, relied greatly on patronage and publicity to shore up his public image. He surrounded himself with some of the most learned men of his time, who “formed a kind of propaganda bureau to re-establish the power of the monarchy.” Finally, like Robert he complemented their efforts by publicizing for himself through frequent orations.¹⁴

Furthermore, the royal image that Charles V and his court constructed was one founded, like Robert’s, on learned wisdom. Through his patronage of scholars, his collection of an impressive royal library, and his own public displays of eloquence and erudition, Charles cast his intellectual style of rule as a virtue, and his courtiers celebrated him in word and image as wise. Philippe de Mézières, close counsellor of Charles V, described the king in his *Songe du vieil pèlerin* of 1389 as a “wise Solomon,” full of wisdom and prudence.¹⁵ Nicolas Oresme, who dedicated a translation of Aristotle to Charles, described him as “desiring and loving all noble sciences,” and thanked God for providing France with such a wise king.¹⁶ The most famous literary portrait of the king was Christine de Pisan’s *Livre des Faits et Bonnes Mœurs du roi Charles V le Sage* of 1403, whose third and final section was devoted to Charles’ wisdom.¹⁷ As at Robert’s court, this quality was defined in Christian-Aristotelian terms. First of all, “our wise king was well trained in sciences and doctrines as well as in the seven liberal arts, and his mastery was such that he could discuss and debate them competently.” Citing Aristotle in the way

¹³ Claire Richter Sherman, *The Portraits of Charles V of France (1338–1380)* (New York, 1969), 7–9, summarizing a consensus view of both contemporaries and modern scholars.

¹⁴ On these aspects of Charles’ reign see idem, “Representations of Charles V of France (1338–1380) as a Wise Ruler,” *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s., 2 (1971), 83–96, where the quote appears on 85.

¹⁵ Jacques Krynen, *L’Empire du roi: Idées et croyances politiques en France, XIII^e–XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1993), 195, and Sherman, “Representations,” 87.

¹⁶ See Sherman, “Representations,” 94n.

¹⁷ For a recent translation into modern French see Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre des faits et bonnes mœurs du roi Charles V le Sage*, ed. E. Hicks and T. Moreau (Paris, 1997).

Thomas Aquinas and Robert himself had, Christine stressed both the distinctions between knowledge and wisdom, and their relation. “The virtues of the soul—which, as we have said, are art, prudence, intellect, knowledge, and wisdom—are different. . . . The realm of knowledge is that of inferior causes; speculative wisdom has as its object first causes. That is why Aristotle calls wisdom the supreme science; for prudence and art have their home in the region of the soul which treats of practical matters and reasons about contingent things.” Thus in addition to his wide *scientia*, Charles “sought to understand those first causes that are the highest, that is, high theology, which is the sum of all wisdom.”¹⁸

Visual portraits of Charles V also echoed those of Robert in stressing the king’s learning and wisdom. A copy of *The Nine Judges of Astrology*, commissioned by the king, included an illumination that showed Charles debating with these astrological experts, figures closely associated in the Middle Ages with wisdom.¹⁹ The king’s copy of John of Salisbury’s *Policraticus* featured, on the first folio, an illumination of Charles V holding a book opened to the text, “happy is the man who will dwell in wisdom” (Plate 17). A more complex illumination in this same manuscript was divided into four quadrants. In the upper quadrants Charles V appeared on the left, Solomon with pagan philosophers and Church Fathers on the right, while the lower quadrants featured hunters and courtiers (Plate 18). This spatial arrangement conveyed Charles’ identification with Solomonic wisdom and with sacred and profane learning, and his rejection of worldly vices figuratively trampled underfoot. As the image’s caption

¹⁸ Ibid., 201: “Notre sage roi était très instruit en sciences et doctrines, ainsi que dans les sept arts libéraux, et que sa maîtrise en était telle qu’il pouvait en parler et en discuter avec compétence.” On wisdom versus knowledge, 197: “les vertus de l’âme—qui sont, comme nous l’avons dit, art, prudence, intellect, science, et sagesse—sont différents. . . . le champ de la science est celui du savoir conclu des causes inférieures, et la sagesse spéculative a pour objet les causes premières. C’est pourquoi Aristote appelle cette sagesse la science suprême; car la prudence et l’art ont leur siège dans la région de l’âme qui traite de la pratique et qui raisonne sur les choses contingentes.” (Robert described the same Aristotelian hierarchy of art, prudence, intellect, knowledge and wisdom in his sermon on St. Louis of Anjou, “*Corona aurea super mitram eius*,” edited by Edith Pásztor, *Per la storia di San Ludovico d’Angiò* [Rome, 1955], 69–81, at 79.) On Charles’ wisdom in the strict sense, *Le livre des faits*, 199: “[Charles] chercha à comprendre les réalités premières qui sont les plus élevées, à savoir la haute théologie, laquelle est la fin de toute sagesse.”

¹⁹ Sherman, “Representations,” 85, and *passim* on Charles’ depiction as wise generally.

read, "blessed is the land whose king is wise." Such iconography recalls the several portraits of King Robert. Where Charles V read an open book, Robert appeared on his tomb in the company of the seven liberal arts (Plate 6). Where Charles debated with learned judges or appeared beside Solomon, Robert was himself the wise Ecclesiastes instructing an audience (Plate 15). Where Charles rejected worldly vices beneath him, an image of Robert literally trampled the vices, again with a motto—"King Robert, expert in all fields of knowledge"—that linked virtue with erudition (Plate 14).

Such parallels doubtless stem, in part, from the common fund of sources drawn on by both Robert's and Charles' courts. The Christian Aristotelianism so fundamental to Robert's conception of wisdom had had its center in Paris; Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*, in particular, was a major inspiration for Christine de Pisan, and Charles V, like Robert, owned a copy of it.²⁰ It is also certain, however, that Charles V knew of Robert, to whom his family was tied by numerous marital bonds, and that he acquired some of the most beautiful manuscripts from Robert's library.²¹ Among these was a copy of the *Faits des Romains* that had been made at the Angevin court for Robert's son and daughter-in-law Marie (who was herself a Valois) between 1324 and 1331, and that belonged to Charles V's library at the time of his death. An *Ancient History to the Time of Caesar*, elaborately illuminated in Naples in the last years of Robert's reign, also came into Charles' possession.²² These two acquisitions alone prove that Charles knew of and was interested in the learned culture of his Angevin relative. But it is very likely that a third and more significant Angevin manuscript belonged to Charles as well. Like the

²⁰ For Giles' enormous influence on Christine's *Livre des faits*, see the introductory comments by Hicks and Moreau, ed. cit., 22; Sherman, "Representations," 84; and Jacques Krynen, *L'idéal du prince et pouvoir royal en France à la fin du moyen âge, 1380-1440* (Paris, 1981), 65. Charles V's possession of multiple copies of Giles' work is noted by Krynen, *L'Empire du roi*, 187.

²¹ The passage of these manuscripts from Robert's library to Paris has been painstakingly reconstructed by François Avril, "Trois manuscrits napolitains des collections de Charles V and de Jean de Berry," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 127 (1969), 291-328.

²² Avril suggests (p. 327) that the gift was requested by Charles V from the unnamed "king of Spain", who may have been Henry II of Castile. The *Ancient History* was originally written in northern France in the early thirteenth century, and is now attributed to Wauchier de Deniau. For a modern French translation, see M. de Visser-van Terwisga, *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* (Orléans, 1995).

Ancient History, it passed to Charles V's brother, Jean, Duke of Berry, after the king's death; it had previously belonged to Charles V's *maître d'hôtel*, Jean de Montaigu. Given Charles' interest in Robert's manuscripts, and his close relationship with Montaigu, it is very likely that it came into the *maître d'hôtel's* hands from the collection of the king. This third manuscript was none other than the Bible of Malines, whose splendid illuminations were among the most eloquent images to emerge from Robert's court and whose iconography, as we have seen, was echoed in Charles' own.²³

Charles V has passed into history as the most famous wise king of the fourteenth century, and his royal image most closely matched that of Robert. But royal wisdom and related characteristics—an emphasis on patronage and publicity, for instance, and a preference for strategic intellect over martial power—held an important place in the reigns of other fourteenth-century kings as well. One of these was Charles IV of Bohemia, whose career intersected with both Robert's and Charles V's in various ways. Brought up from the age of seven at the Parisian court, he was impressed enough by the experience to exchange his baptismal name, Wenceslas, for that of his French uncle Charles. In later years he was closely tied to his nephew, Charles V, whose reign overlapped with his for some 15 years; he so cherished a visit made to the Valois court shortly before his death that he commemorated the occasion in fresco.²⁴ Meanwhile, in his teens he had accompanied his father, John of Bohemia, on that Italian campaign so vigorously opposed by King Robert and his allies, an experience that had a “determining effect” on his political attitude toward the peninsula.²⁵ He was also, for Petrarch, Robert's successor for the role of Italian savior, and may have learned of the Angevin's reputation through this most loyal publicist. Whatever role mutual influence may have played in the development of their ruling images, Charles IV's reign appears as a variation on certain shared themes. It seems fair to say that piety and sacrality, rather

²³ Avril, “Trois manuscrits,” 314–328. The earlier stages of this manuscript's journey to the royal court of France are not clear. After Robert's death it belonged to Niccolò d'Alife, an Angevin official who remained in the service of Queen Joanna. Nothing more is known of its history until its appearance in Paris in Charles V's reign.

²⁴ Iva Rosario, *Art and Propaganda. Charles IV of Bohemia, 1346–1378* (Woodbridge, Eng., 2000), 2–3.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

than wisdom, were the dominant themes of his royal image, as evidenced by his famous relic collection, the Karlstein Castle he built to house it, and the tone of sacral royalty struck by his numerous artistic commissions. As was noted in Chapter Three, Charles IV's court was another early center of that *beata stirps* that so flourished in Angevin Naples. Compared to his Angevin and Valois contemporaries, Charles IV also demonstrated a rather better developed appreciation for monumental visual imagery as a medium for reaching and swaying public opinion.

But Charles IV, too, cultivated an image as erudite and wise. If less magnificently than Charles V or Robert, he was a noted patron of learned men, for which he earned Petrarch's praise; through this generosity as well as his artistic commissions he demonstrated that consciousness found also in Paris and Naples of "the power of cultural expression as a tool of self-promotion and self-aggrandizement."²⁶ Even more celebrated was his foundation of the Charles University in 1348, the first *studium generale* in central Europe and one that, like the Neapolitan university, bore the particular imprint of the monarchy. Furthermore, Charles composed works of his own, including a biography of his sainted ancestor Wenceslas, a liturgical office for Saint Ludmilla, and his own autobiography. Thus the preacher of his funeral sermon could assert that

[Charles] had the gift of knowledge. As is well known, he was so learned that he was regarded as a scholar and a master of theology. For he beautifully explained the parts of the Psalms and the Gospels . . . and very often had discussions with masters, doctors, and other scholars. For this reason he established the Prague *studium generale* and several colleges. And therefore it could be said of him: *and those who are learned will shine like lightning in the heavens* (Dan. 12:3).²⁷

Thus royal wisdom was again associated with both earthly and divine knowledge, and following the Thomist formulation was developed by human reason as well by a final divine revelation. As Charles IV

²⁶ Ibid., 7.

²⁷ "Ipse habuit spiritum scientie. Nam ut bene notum est, ita doctus fuit, quod sciens et magister in theologia putaretur. Nam psalterium in aliquibus locis pulcherrime exposuit, similiter ewangelium et oraciones et alia magistralia similiter componebat, sepius cum magistris, doctoribus et aliis scientificis conferebat disputando. Quapropter studium Pragense fecit et quam plura collegia. Unde de eo dictum est: *qui autem docti fuerint, fulgebunt quasi splendor firmamenti.*" Cited with translation in ibid., 75.

remarked, "He acts wrongly who searches for wisdom but does not study so that he might gain it. . . . He who thinks he can gain wisdom without application is himself uneducated;" at the same time he noted in his autobiography, " I will not conceal the grace which was poured into me by God or the love of study that was in my breast."²⁸

Furthermore, Charles IV's intellectual persona involved a similarly strategic approach to politics, warfare, and general administration. Known for his parsimony and careful deliberation, as the Italian chronicler Matteo Villani observed,²⁹ Charles IV himself praised it as prudence. As he stated in the prologue of a chronicle he had commissioned, "The state is fortunate when it insists that those who govern it are prudent. . . . Therefore we . . . endeavor . . . that [our realm] in peacetime as in war be not only provided with military weapons, but also armed with prudence."³⁰ Iva Rosario's recent summation of Charles IV's politics could stand as well for Robert's: "invariably he preferred diplomacy to war, and had the self-control to wait patiently for the evolution of events in his favor rather than rush into battle."³¹

Basing her observation solely on the similarities between Charles V and Charles IV and on the praise for royal wisdom found in theorists like Giles of Rome, Rosario has concluded that *sapientia* was a princely ideal widely embraced in the fourteenth century.³² Daniel Russo has observed the same, noting the parallel appreciation of learning and wisdom found not only in French and Bohemian courts but in Florence as well, particularly in the fresco of Thomas Aquinas discussed in Chapter Six above (Plate 13).³³ That the example of

²⁸ Both cited in *ibid.*, 75, without Latin original.

²⁹ "Poco spendea, e con molta industria regunava pecunia . . . etiando dando audienza . . . intendea a udiva nobilmente, e con poche parole et piene di sustanzia, rispondenti alle domande secondo la sua volontà." Cited and translated in *ibid.*, 5.

³⁰ "Tunc enim rempublicam constat esse felicem quando rectores ipsius prudentes esse constituit. . . . Nos igitur ut ipsam pacis tempore ac eciam bellorum non solum armis bellicis decoratam, verum eciam prudentia . . . exemplo maiorum studeamus esse armatam." Cited in *ibid.*, 75. I have preserved the Latin original's use of the term "prudencia," which the author translates as wisdom.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

³² *Ibid.*, 76.

³³ Daniel Russo, "Les modes de représentation du pouvoir en Europe dans l'iconographie du XIV^e siècle," in *Représentation, pouvoir et royauté à la fin du moyen âge*, ed. J. Blanchard (Paris, 1995), 177–190. On this fresco see Chapter Six, at n. 91.

Robert should have escaped these scholars' attention is a sign of how little Angevin Naples has, as yet, penetrated the general historical consciousness. For their observation about the determining influence of wisdom in fourteenth-century ideals, fully borne out by the examples they cite, is yet more richly confirmed by his reign. Not only did he prefigure much of their imagery and emphasis, but his court had demonstrable connections to theirs through which his royal image was plausibly, in some cases certainly, known to them.

There is reason to consider another fourteenth-century king, Richard II of England, among the age's representatives of ruling wisdom. Certainly his reign was less successful than those of our other wise kings: in some respects a poor politician and incapable of inspiring his subjects' love or allegiance, he was finally deposed by the leading men of the realm. Yet scholars have recently called attention to the novel and forward-looking aspects of his rule, which would be adopted with greater success by his Tudor successors.³⁴ Many of these aspects are ones that echo those of our earlier wise kings: a preference for "diplomatic ingenuity" and financial husbandry over martial aggression, an emphasis on the sacral authority and holy lineage of the crown, perhaps above all a keen appreciation for image-making, ceremony, and the propagandistic power of the royal court which could compensate, as it did in other cases, for the absence of dramatic military action.³⁵ Further, Richard too sought to portray himself, and legitimate himself, as wise. As Nigel Saul has observed, "what Richard was seeking was recognition of his 'sagesse,' his wisdom as a ruler; and through the fashioning of a magnificent court on the model of Solomon's, he hoped in some degree to achieve this."³⁶ It is no coincidence that Richard's chosen image echoed those described above. Richard's father-in-law was none other than Charles IV, whose influence on Richard's ruling style has been noted by

³⁴ For a summation of recent scholarship on Richard's reign, see Anthony Goodman's introduction to *Richard II. The Art of Kingship*, ed. Anthony Goodman and James L. Gillespie (Oxford and New York, 1999), 1–13.

³⁵ Regarding Richard's politics, Goodman has observed that Richard's consistent effort to make peace with France "was pursued with diplomatic ingenuity and . . . a shrewd appreciation of how the Anglo-French war strained relations between Crown and community, and had objectives which were beyond the realm's resources": *ibid.*, 3–4. Richard's emphasis on sacral kingship and on ceremony and image are noted by John Taylor, "Richard II in the Chronicles," 30–31, and by Nigel Saul, "The Kingship of Richard II," 39–43, both in *Richard II. The Art of Kingship*.

³⁶ Nigel Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven, 1997), 357.

several scholars.³⁷ The Valois court to which Charles IV himself was closely connected appears to have influenced Richard even more: for Saul, “[Richard’s] carefully contrived self-image as a ‘sage’ was almost certainly modelled on that of Charles V of France.”³⁸ Yet here at the very end of the fourteenth century, the meaning of royal wisdom and the activities connected to it had begun to shift away from the “classic” model exemplified by Robert, Charles V, and Charles IV. Richard did not claim to be a particularly erudite man, collected no large royal library, and had rather less interest in the patronage of scholars. There is little trace, in his image as wise, of the Thomistic conception of an earthly knowledge crowned by theological understanding. Instead, wisdom was associated at Richard’s court with more worldly talents like shrewd publicity and practical know-how. To Roger Dymock, writing around 1395, Richard was “wise” in his lavish display, which allowed him to impress and cow other rulers. As for Richard himself, if he “perceived of himself as a latter-day Solomon” it was because, as his epitaph proclaimed, he was “prudent and refined,” or again “prudent in mind like Homer.” As Nigel Saul has observed, “in contemporary terms, prudence was the quality of a ‘sage,’” and it was this prudence, rather than great learning or theological wisdom, that Richard sought to embody.³⁹

It is just this shift from wisdom to prudence that Rodolfo de Mattei has identified as a major transformation in princely ideals in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁴⁰ For some Italian humanists, prudence still had its origins in wisdom, for it was through wisdom that the prudent man was able to discern the good and the true. But as the practical expression of that discernment, oriented toward the

³⁷ Saul, “The Kingship of Richard II,” 41; Gervase Matthew, *The Court of Richard II* (London, 1968), 17. In addition to the promotion of dynastic cults and distant, “majestic” style of rule associated by these scholars with Charles IV’s example, one may note the two kings’ similar preference for visual over literary publicity. Rosario has called attention to this feature of Charles IV’s reign, and it was even more marked in that of Richard II: as Saul has observed in *Richard II*, 365, “Richard of course was fully alive to the importance of image-making, but his efforts were directed more to the visual than the literary dimension. It was painting and architecture that attracted him.”

³⁸ Saul, *Richard II*, 357.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 356–57.

⁴⁰ Rodolfo de Mattei, “Sapienza e Prudenza nel pensiero politico italiano dall’Umanesimo al secolo XVII,” in *Umanesimo e scienza politica. Atti del congresso internazionale di studi umanistici, Rome-Florence, 1949*, ed. E. Castelli (Milan, 1951), 129–143.

common good, prudence came to be preferred to the abstract theorizing of wisdom. Thus the fifteenth-century humanist Matteo Palmieri defined prudence as “the true ability to examine rationally and understand all things that are good or bad for men. Similar [prudent] men are esteemed most highly in the governance of republics and in all private affairs, but they still . . . wish only that which is right and honest.”⁴¹ In the treatise *On Prudence* of Palmieri’s contemporary Pontano, a government minister with a notably realistic approach to politics, it was this prudence that defined the perfect life, for it effected its morality in the real world rather than confining itself to the realm of pure speculation.⁴² Some theorists reacted against this increasingly worldly conception of wisdom and prudence: Nicholas of Cusa, for instance, reverted in the mid-fifteenth century to a strict Augustinian definition of *sapientia* as divine revelation alone. But this vehement reaction was itself a sign that general opinion was moving in the other direction: as Eugene Rice has observed, the older Augustinian view “was never more strongly or eloquently stated than at the moment it had begun to be replaced by more novel conceptions.”⁴³

Indeed, once championed for its practical efficacy, this prudence could easily be detached from its ethical origins in wisdom, as it was already in the thought of Pontano. In his treatise *On Obedience*, he acknowledged that “the force of the useful could be very great, and in that case let it be sometimes that one declines a little from the good.”⁴⁴ By the sixteenth century, a prudence oriented toward interests of state and free of ethical restraints had triumphed to such a degree that wisdom itself was defined in these terms. Thus Francesco Patrizi, writing around the middle of the sixteenth century, could assert that while the ancients often spoke of wisdom, what they really meant by it was prudence, giving it the former, more exalted name

⁴¹ In his *Della vita civile*, Palmieri cited Aristotle to the effect that prudence was the “abito vero che con ragione examini ed intenda tutte le cose che sono agli uomini bene o male.” Simili uomini sono stimati altissimi a’ governi delle Repubbliche, e di qualunque cosa privata, però che . . . vogliono solo quello che è diritto ed onesto.” Cited in de Mattei, “Sapienza e Prudenza,” 130n.

⁴² Ibid., 131–2; Jerry Bentley, *Politics and Culture in Renaissance Naples* (Princeton, 1987), 182–194. See also Mario Santoro, “Il Pontano e l’ideale rinascimentale del ‘prudente,’” *Giornale italiano di filologia* 17, 1 (1964), 29–54.

⁴³ E.F. Rice, Jr., *The Renaissance Idea of Wisdom* (Cambridge, MA, 1958), 19.

⁴⁴ “Poterit fortasse utilitatis tanta vis esse, et tali in casu ut sit aliquando ab honesto declinandum”: cited in ibid., 132n.

because they valued prudence so highly.⁴⁵ But surely the greatest exponent of this vision was Machiavelli, for whom wisdom itself was pragmatic, measuring the truth of things by their efficacy, and was acquired not through metaphysical or theological speculation but through the lessons of history and experience. The ideal prince was “a technician whose function was to know political reality as it was;” his wisdom was not only in knowing how to be, but knowing how to appear, for “a good image gained public opinion, and with this opinion, renown and glory.”⁴⁶

This shift from wisdom to prudence can be traced not only in the theories advocated by writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but in the subtly shifting ways they recalled the memory of Robert “the Wise.” In the 1370s, the Parmesan writer Gabrio de’ Zamorei could still celebrate Robert’s erudition and high wisdom. He had followed Robert’s career from his native northern Italy since at least the 1320s, and befriended Petrarch in 1341.⁴⁷ He was thus close to those sources that most fully celebrated the Angevin’s wisdom, and he echoed their conception in the portrait of Robert he sketched in a treatise *On Fortitude* thirty years later. “This Robert was a man of great knowledge, a great philosopher and theologian and above all others a most excellent preacher,” he wrote. Yet Gabrio placed equal emphasis on the king’s martial skills in a way that certainly reflected his own ideals more than Robert’s scant military career. “He was a better archer with bow and arrow than any other man of the world; he rode horses better . . . and carried a lance better than any other . . .”⁴⁸ If Robert had high wisdom, he also had practical know-how; nor was wisdom the source of his other virtues, as it had been for Robert’s courtiers, but merely another component of that fortitude to which Gabrio dedicated his treatise.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 134.

⁴⁶ J. Conde, “La sagesse machiavélique: politique et rhétorique,” in *Umanesimo e scienza politica. Atti del congresso internazionale di studi umanistici, Rome-Florence, 1949*, ed. E. Castelli (Milan, 1951), 87–88.

⁴⁷ On Gabrio’s career see Marco Vatasso, *Del Petrarca e di alcuni suoi amici* (Rome, 1904), 37–63.

⁴⁸ “Iste Robertus fuit vir magne scientie et magnus philosophus et magnus theologus et super omnes maximus sermocinator. Iste fuit magnus cantor et inventor cantus et invenit cantum novum super simbolo. Iste cum arco et sagitta melius sagittavit aliquo homine mundi; iste melius equitavit et . . . melius portavit lanceam aliquo alio . . .” Cited in *ibid.*, 22n.

Thirty years after Gabrio, the noted Italian humanist Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna would again celebrate Robert's memory. Though he lacked the personal recollection of Robert's reign that Gabrio enjoyed, he was but one step removed from it. In the 1380s he was a favorite at the Paduan court of the Carrara where Petrarch had recently sojourned, and met learned men who remembered both that great admirer of Robert and Robert himself.⁴⁹ Furthermore, around 1375 he acquired a number of manuscripts that had belonged to the king. When Louis of Hungary sacked the Angevin royal library in 1348, he entrusted it to Giovanni's father Conversino, who was serving as the Hungarian king's physician. Conversino had sent a third of the collection to his native northern Italy, whence some of the Angevin's codices eventually came into the hands of Giovanni. The acquisition made an impression on the future humanist, who recorded the story in the autobiography he wrote around 1400.⁵⁰ Doubtless inspired by the atmosphere of the Paduan court and by the possession of these manuscripts, Giovanni held up Robert as a model prince in his *Dragmalogia de Eligibili Vite Genere*, written in 1404.

The work takes the form of a dialogue between a Paduan and a Venetian, in which the author shares the Paduan's preference for a stable monarchical state and the opportunities it provides for pursuit of learning. As the Paduan argues,

When Augustus was master of the world, Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, still famous in our times, and many others unknown, had free time and means for leisure activities because of his liberal generosity. Later when Justinian was ruling the world, the beneficial civil law received form and order. Near our own time King Robert encouraged doctors, theologians, poets, and orators with prolific honors and abundant largesse. All in the world who sought the rewards of the study of

⁴⁹ At the Carrara court Giovanni met Arsendino Arsendi, who was completing Petrarch's *De viris illustribus*, as well as the jurist Baldo degli Ubaldi, who had discussed the legitimacy of Robert's rule of southern Italy. For Giovanni's biography see the introduction by Benjamin Kohl to Giovanni's *Dragmalogia de Eligibili Vite Genere*, ed. and trans. H.L. Eaker (Lewisburg, 1980), and Remigio Sabbadini, *Giovanni da Ravenna insigne figura d'umanista (1343-1408)* (Como, 1924; 2nd ed. Turin, 1961).

⁵⁰ This was his *Rationarum Vite*, written in 1400, and partially edited in Sabbadini, *Giovanni da Ravenna*, 127-173; the passage describing the fate of the library appears on 157-158. (A full edition and translation into Italian, by Vittore Nason, was published in Florence in 1986.)

letters poured into his kingdom, and not in vain, for it lay open as a sacred domicile of scholars.⁵¹

Giovanni went on to list other patron-princes of Italy: Guido da Polenta, patron of Dante, and his grandson Bernardino, patron of Boccaccio; Giacomo da Carrara, who “enticed Petrarch to Padua away from the Milanese tyrant with flattering insistence,” and the Milanese tyrant Giangaleazzo Visconti himself.⁵² In another work, the *De dilectione regnantium*, Giovanni again compared Robert’s learning and patronage with that of his own lord, Francesco Carrara.⁵³ Giovanni thus placed Robert within a tradition of cultivated rulers stretching from antiquity to his own time. Indeed, the Angevin king was not only a recent forebear of the ideal Renaissance prince, but had perhaps surpassed them: Robert was “the greatest and most literate king,” Giovanni wrote to a friend at the end of his life, “whose knowledge of letters no one afterward equalled.”⁵⁴

Giovanni’s portrait, like Gabrio’s, bears resemblance to the image propagated by Robert’s supporters during his lifetime: it celebrated his patronage and wide learning, and included theology among his fields of expertise. Yet the overall tone of the portrait is secular and humanistic in a way that better reflects Giovanni’s age and values than Robert’s documented career. Though Petrarch himself had noted Robert’s scant interest in poetry, Giovanni made of him a great patron of poets and orators; where Robert’s admirers likened him to the biblical Solomon, Giovanni cast him as a successor of Augustus. Nor did the word wisdom issue from Giovanni’s pen; for him Robert was *litteratissimus*, an erudition that included theology but was far from dominated by it.

⁵¹ Giovanni da Ravenna, *Dragmalogia*, 115.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 115, 117 (citing from the English in this facing-page translation). It is worth noting that for Giovanni, ideal patronage did not concern only poets, but learned men of traditional disciplines as well: he praised Giangaleazzo not for his patronage of “poets and orators, who very infrequently appeared, but [of] doctors and lawyers, who were well known for getting and enjoying the bounty of uncounted salaries.”

⁵³ “Roberti regis Sicilie, nunquam sine morsu presentis seculi memorandi, theologorum, philosophorum, medicorum, poetarum scriptorum aula semper frequens fervensque visebatur. . . . Haud est silenda hoco loco senior michi Franciscus.” Excerpts from this work, written in 1399, appear in Sabbadini, *Giovanni da Ravenna*, 181–182.

⁵⁴ “Robertus quondam maximus atque, quod nullis post contingit, litteratissimus rex”: in a letter to Antonio, patriarch of Aquila, written May 1407. Edited by Sabbadini, *Giovanni da Ravenna*, 233–235; the quote appears on 234.

Thirty years after Giovanni, another noted humanist would again invoke Robert as a model prince, not for his enlightened patronage this time, but for his practical virtues of justice, prudence, and might. The author of this portrait was Pier Candido Decembrio, secretary of the Visconti Duke of Milan; the occasion was Genoa's demand that the Ligurian coast be restored to Genoese control. Pier scornfully replied that the Genoese, faithless allies and disobedient subjects, did not recognize good rule when they had it.⁵⁵ Had they not, a century earlier, resisted the signory of King Robert?

In the memory of our fathers, when Robert, that great and memorable king of Naples, had held the reins of power in your city for some time and it was flourishing exceedingly under the rule of his law, he was suddenly driven out by you for no reason except that of your usual nature. With what fancy words and with what arguments broadcast everywhere you hid your inconstancy, calling him now a tyrant, now intolerable! But when he, provided with many troops, had brought your men low and had imposed the accustomed yoke of iron, all your loquacity came to nothing. For the rest, this most prudent king was not driven to seek your enslavement so much as to despise your insolence: for he abandoned your city to you of his own accord, so that by giving it to those who sought to be lord or governor of some sort, he might deliver you to be ruled and governed by a devil. And rightly so. Who indeed could unite such dissonant and various opinions?⁵⁶

For Pier Candido as for Giovanni Conversini, Robert was a model prince and predecessor associated with the humanist's own contemporary lord, but by 1430 the basis of Robert's past greatness had

⁵⁵ Pier's letter, entitled "Responsiva Petri Candidi ad Januenses" and written in March 1436, is edited with an introduction by Piero Lucca, "La rivolta di Genova contro Milano nel 1435 e una lettera inedita di Pier Candido Decembrio," *Bollettino della società pavese*, n.s., 4, fasc. 1-2 (1952), 3-23. I thank Ronald Witt for calling my attention to this letter and to the *Dragnologia* of Giovanni Conversini discussed above.

⁵⁶ The Latin as given by Lucca is very corrupt. This passage appears on pp. 15-16 of his edition: "Robertus ille magnus ac memorabilis Neapolitanorum rex patrum nostrorum memoria cum gubernacula vestra aliquandiu tenuisset et urbs ipsa sub eius imperio iuris quibus [*sic*] maxime floreret, nulla causa nisi solita natiuitate vestra intercedente, a vobis statim repulsus est, quibus dum bonis litteris, quibus argumentis, per terrarum orbem inconstantiam nostram [*sic*: vestram] protexistis, nunc illum tyrannum, nunc intollerabilem predicantes. Sed cum idem copiis maximis instructus, vires vestras pesumdedisset, et solitum jugum ferre iussisset, omnis illa est explosa loquacitas. Ceterum rex prudentissimus non tam servitutem vestram affectasse iussus est, quam insolentiam contempsisse, quippe urbes [*sic*: urbem] ipsis sponte deserens vobis ut dominium vel gubernatore, quampiam ab se flagitantibus dederit, diabolo vos custodiendos regendosque committere[t]. Et recte quidem; quis enim tam dissonas, tamque varias opiniones in unum congerat?"

transformed. No longer praised for theological wisdom or even for worldly erudition and patronage, Robert was now an exemplar of shrewdness. Mighty, even stern, he nevertheless knew when to cut his losses in the most pragmatic way. The prudence Robert himself had advocated here found full acceptance; the wisdom he had considered superior was forgotten.

Such commemorators did not invent Robert's image out of whole cloth. If the Angevin appeared to them as a candidate for model rulership it was because his reign contained the germ of qualities they admired: distinguished patronage, political shrewdness, the creation of a magnificent princely court. Much scholarship has identified these as characteristic qualities of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, an age that saw the fuller florescence of court culture, the increased priority given to public image and ceremony, and the recognition, in influential writers like Machiavelli and Castiglione, of the utility of appearance over reality.⁵⁷ Fifteenth-century writers tailored their image of Robert to better mirror these developments and their own tastes, omitting certain aspects of his royal image and subtly altering others. But if they hailed him as an ideal ruler at all it was because of the continuities that made his ruling style familiar and laudable to them. In reply to a comment noted at the start of this book, the later fortunes of Robert's ruling image suggest that many did, in fact, look to Naples for inspiration after the mid-thirteenth century, and across the borders separating Italian and transalpine, monarchical and city-state, medieval and Renaissance.⁵⁸

Those fortunes also suggest that Robert's image was his most lasting legacy to fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Europe. The suggestion is not intended to underestimate Robert's practical accomplishments. Despite two imperial depositions, an ongoing war with rebel Sicily, the sometime hostility of Guelf allies, the taint of his "abject" vassalage and doubts about his own legitimate possession of the crown, Robert succeeded in maintaining and passing on to his heir all the territories and regions of influence he had inherited. Still, the concrete manifestations of his successes did not endure for long. Southern

⁵⁷ See the discussion in Chapter Two at nn. 7, 101–3, 107, and in Chapter Five at nn. 143–5. To Machiavelli's famous recommendation of appearance over reality can be added Baldesar Castiglione's portrait of the ideal courtier's *sprezzatura*, "so as to conceal all art and make whatever is done or said appear to be without effort": *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. Charles Singleton (New York, 1959), 43.

⁵⁸ See above, page 10, at n. 17.

Italy descended into political and economic disorder almost immediately after his death, and when it emerged, it belonged to a different foreign dynasty; Provence and Piedmont by that time had splintered off to different political destinies. As for the community of cultural luminaries Robert had gathered in Naples, it passed away with him. It was Robert's image that had a more durable lifespan. Despite some misgivings voiced in the early decades of his rule, the royal wisdom he exemplified came to seem ideal within and well beyond his lands. It was an ideal well suited to its time. Like learned wisdom itself, wise kingship struck a delicate balance between tradition and novelty, the sacred and the profane. While capable of encompassing a pragmatic concern for political self-interest and public image, it still framed such tendencies in a sacral context that made the king God's representative on earth, bound by ethical constraints and charged with leading his subjects in piety and justice toward the ultimate good. That wisdom soon ceded pride of place to a prudence shorn of cosmic resonance and free to pursue its more utilitarian ends—and in such terms Robert, too, came to be remembered—while its sacral component also survived, to reemerge in the seventeenth century as an unfettered mystical absolutism.⁵⁹ The sacred and profane aspects of wise kingship, liberated from the mutually mediating influence of their union, would each grow to heights unimagined by medieval men.

Before this parting of ways, however, in an age of anxiety and often calamitous change, it was the wise king who presented himself as the best possibility of right rulership, and the most capable guarantor of peace. As was noted at the start of this book, Robert lacked great military victories, heroic crusading enterprises, or even memorable judicial reform to burnish his memory, and yet he still managed to be embraced in and beyond his own time as an ideal ruler. In the end, Robert's greatness lay principally in his ability to convince others that he was great. The ruling strategies and image through which he did so may represent his most notable contribution to the European tradition.

⁵⁹ Ernst Kantorowicz, "Mysteries of State: An Absolutist Concept and its Late-Mediaeval Origins," *Harvard Theological Review* 48 (1955), 65–91, tracing the concept's origins to legal theories of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and its coalescence into royal absolutism in the early modern period, notably in the reign of James I.

APPENDIX

Angevin Dynastic-Political Sermons of Robert's Reign

REMIGIO DE' GIROLAMI. From Florence, Bibl. Naz., MS G 4 936. The dating of the sermons has been established by Emilio Panella, "Nuova cronologia remigiana," *AFP* 60 (1990), 145–311. Remigio preached several sermons in honor of the Angevins before Robert's reign as well, including one for Robert himself, then Duke of Calabria, in 1305: inc. "*Dux itineris fuisti* (Ps. 79:10)," fols. 353v–354r.

"*Regem honorificate* (1 Pet. 2:17). *Isti autem regi domino Roberto. . .*"

Fol. 350va–vb. In honor of Robert, preached between 1310 and 1315, perhaps during the king's visit to Florence in Sept.-Oct. 1310.

"*Misericordia et veritas custodiunt regem* (Prov. 20:28). *Quamquam conveniat omni regi.*" Fols. 350vb–351rb. Same subject and date.

"*Ego autem constitutus sum rex ab eo* (Ps. 2:6). *Verbum istud quod dicit de se rex eternus et filius Dei naturalis, veraciter potest dicere de se filius Dei adoptivus et rex temporalis dominus rex Robertus, qui est hic.*" Fols. 351rb–352ra. Same subject. The "qui est hic" suggests that this sermon was preached in fall 1310.

"*Regem honorificate* (1 Pet. 2:17). *Ad vos, igitur, karissimi. . .*" Fol. 352ra–va. Same subject. Remigio comments here on "*dominus autem noster qui est hic,*" again suggesting a date in fall 1310.

"*Princeps ea que digna sunt principe cogitabit. . .* (Is. 32:8) *Dominus princeps Tarantinus, qui hic est.*" Fols. 353v–354r, in margin. Honoring Philip of Taranto during his service as Florence's captain of war, August 1315.

"*Nobilis grandis interitu* (Eze. 22:5). *Dominus Karolus filius domini principis, quem Domini ad se vocavit.*" Fols. 387v–388r, in margins. For the death of Philip of Taranto's son, Charles of Achaia, who died in the Battle of Montecatini in August 1315.

"*Iudicate quoniam non ipsa uxor mea* (Os. 2:2)." Fol. 388v, in margin. Preached between December 1315 and June 1316, for the death of Beatrice, Robert's sister and wife of Bertrand de Baux.

GIOVANNI REGINA DI NAPOLI. From Naples, Bibl. Naz., MS VIII AA 11, probably copied by Giovanni himself. For dating and discussion,

see T. Kaeppli, "Note sugli scrittori di nome Giovanni di Napoli," *AFP* 10 (1940), 48–71, and J.-P. Boyer, "Les Baux et le modèle royale. Une oraison funèbre de Jean Regina de Naples (1334)," *Provence historique* 181 (1995), 427–430. Since Giovanni died in 1348, five years after Robert, it is possible that some of the anniversary sermons, which cannot be dated precisely, postdate Robert's reign. In addition to his princely memorial sermons I include sermons memorializing important government officials and those for notable state occasions.

"*Pontifex intrat in sancta* (cf. ad Hebr. 9:11). . . . Omnes ad presens sumus congregati ad exsequias venerabilis pontificis archiepiscopi Tranensis." Fol. 18r–v. For the funeral of Bartolomeo Brancaccio, archbishop of Trani and vicechancellor of the realm, d. 1341.

"*Princeps Dei* (Gen 23:6) . . . Omnes ad presens sumus congregati ad exsequias principis Tarentini." Fols. 18v–19r. For the funeral of Philip of Taranto, d. 1332.

"*Princeps et maximus cecidit hodie* (2 Reg. 3:38)." Fol. 19r–v. Second sermon for the funeral of Philip of Taranto.

"*Quidam nobilis abiit in regionem longinquam* (Luc. 19:12)." Fols. 19v–20r. For the death of Hugh de Baux, grand seneschal of the kingdom, d. 1334. Edited by J.-P. Boyer, "Les Baux et le modèle royal," 448–452.

"*In caritate perpetua dilexi te* (Jer. 31:3) . . . Os meum operui et attraxi spiritum." Fol. 24r–v. For the anniversary of the death of Charles II (d. 1309).

"*In caritate perpetua dilexi te* (Jer. 31:3)" *bis*. Fols. 24v–25v. The sermon's rubric reads *in eodem anniversario*, but is certainly not about Charles II. David d'Avray (*Death and the Prince*, 104n.) suggests either Charles Martel, eldest brother of Robert (d. 1295) or Charles of Calabria, Robert's son (d. 1328). The latter appears more probable, for the sermon refers to Charles only as prince, whereas Charles Martel was king of Hungary. It was certainly preached in or after 1317, because it refers to Louis of Anjou (canonized 1317) as saint.

"*In caritate perpetua dilexi te* (Jer. 31:3)" *ter*. ". . . Omnes sumus congregati ad anniversarium regis Karoli . . ." Fols. 25v–26r. Second sermon for the anniversary of Charles II's death.

"*Amice, ascende superius* (Luc. 14:10)." Fol. 26r–v. Third sermon for the anniversary of Charles II's death.

- "*In hoc apparuit caritas* (1 Joh. 4:9). Omnes ad presens sumus congregati ad exsequias Karoli." Fols. 26v–27r. For the funeral of Charles II, May 1309.
- "*Placuit Deo et translatus est* (Eccli. 44:16)." Fols. 36v–37r. For the translation of John, Duke of Durazzo and Gravina (d. 1335).
- "*Ante translationem testimonium habuit* (ad Hebr. 11:5) . . . Humilem et mansuetum semper tibi placuit deprecatio." Fols. 37r–38r. For the translation of Philip of Taranto (d. 1332).
- "*Ante translationem testimonium habuit* (ad Hebr. 11:5)" *bis*. Fols. 38r–39r. For the translation of Elizabeth of Hungary, Robert's aunt and abbess of the Neapolitan convent of S. Pietro a Castello.
- "*Orent pro vita regis et filiorum eius* (1 Esdr. 6:10). Verba ista continent et regis presentis petitionem et nostram obligationem." Fol. 67r–v. The rubric reads "ad recipiendum regem," and may refer to a "reception" of Robert in San Domenico, the church and convent with which Giovanni was associated.
- "*Sperate in eo* (Ps. 61:9)." Fol. 68r–v. Sermon "in processione pro salute exercitus."
- "*Salvum fac populum tuum, Domine* (Ps. 27:9)." Fols. 68v–69v. "De eadem materia." The sermon dates to 1328, when Robert's son Charles of Calabria and his brother John of Gravina-Durazzo led armies against Ludwig of Bavaria.
- "*Confitebor adversus me justitiam meam Domino* (Ps. 7:18)." Fols. 71v–72v. "Ad publicandum revocationem Petri antipape." This sermon celebrated the deposition in 1330 of the antipope Peter of Corvara, part of the entourage of Robert's enemy Ludwig of Bavaria, marking a religious-political victory for the Angevins.
- "*Rogate que ad pacem sunt Jerusalem* (Ps. 121:6)." Fols. 114r–115r. Sermon "in processione pro pace," referring to Naples as the "mystical Jerusalem."
- "*Vocavit Philippum unum de amicis suis* (1 Macc. 6:14)." Fol. 120r–v. For the anniversary of the death of Philip of Taranto.

FEDERICO FRANCONI. From Munich, MS Clm. 2971. Federico's known period of activity in the kingdom was 1334–1343, and it is likely that his anniversary sermons date from this period. On his career see T. Kaeppli, *SOP*, 1: 402–403.

"*Ego constitutus sum rex* (Ps. 2:6). Rex Carolus considerandus occurrit dupliciter." Fols. 129v–130r. For the anniversary of the death of Charles II.

- "*Memoriam habundancie suavitatis tue eructabunt* (Ps. 144:7). Mortui reducuntur ad memoriam vivorum triplici de causa." Fols. 130v–131r. Second sermon for the anniversary of the death of Charles II.
- "*Sedebit dominus rex noster in eternum* (Ps. 28:10). Servitoribus et amicis Dei." Fol. 131r–v. Third sermon for the anniversary of the death of Charles II, but treating all three early Angevin kings.
- "*Ecce rex vester* (Jo. 19:14). Sicut inchoata morte regis regum." Fols. 131v–132v. Funeral sermon for Robert, d. 1343. Edited by J.-P. Boyer, "Une oraison funèbre pour le roi Robert de Sicile, Comte de Provence," *Provence historique* 195–196 (1999), 128–131.
- "*Est enim transitus et ducis domini* (Exo. 12:11). Istud thema tangit principaliter duo." Fols. 132v–133r. On the anniversary of the death of John of Durazzo.
- "*Ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consumationem seculi* (Mt. 28:20). Et est in evangelio dominicali." Fols. 133r–134r. Second sermon for the anniversary of the death of John of Durazzo.
- "*Ego ad te venio* (Io. 17:11). In evangelio istius sabbati, scilicet dominice de paxione, istud thema tangit tria." Fols. 134r–135r. Third sermon for the anniversary of the death of John of Durazzo.

FRANÇOIS DE MEYRONNES. These sermons on Saint Louis of Anjou fall between Louis' canonization in 1317 and François' death circa 1328. The first two are listed in the catalog of J.-B. Schneyer, *Repertorium*, 2: 64–79, based on a Venice, 1481 incunabulum of François' *Sermones de sanctis*.

- "*Humiliavit semetipsum* (Phil. 2:8)." Edited in the anonymous article "De S. Ludovico episcopo Tolosano: Sermo magistri Francisci de Mayronis," *Analecta Ordinis Minorum Capucinatorum* 13 (1897), 305–315.
- "*Luce [splendida] fulgebis* (Tob. 13:13)." Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Arbaud, MS 21, fols. 108v–110v. Cf. *Sermones de sanctis Francisci de Mayronis* (Venice, 1493), fols. 162v–164r, a slightly revised version of this sermon.
- "*Cum cognovisset quia volebant eum facere regem* (cf. Jo. 6:15)." Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Arbaud, MS 21, fols. 81v–83r; Assisi, Bibl. Com., MS 513, fols. 132v–135r. The contents of the Assisi manuscript are identified as sermons by François and Landulfo Caracciolo, without further specification: see C. Cenci, *Manoscritti francescani*, 1:96–97. The Aix manuscript is entirely François' sermons: it is so identified by a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century hand on the rear

cover and by an Italian early-modern hand on the inside front cover, and many of its sermons are listed as François' in Schneyer's catalog. "*Nova lux oriri visa est* (Hest. 8:16)." Vat. Chigi B IV 43, fols. 102r–103r. The Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana possesses a handwritten inventory of the Chigi collection: Giuseppe Baronci, *Inventario dei manoscritti Chigi*, completed between 1922 and 1930, in which this fifteenth-century manuscript is identified on folio 42 as the "sermone et alia opuscula Francisci de Mayronis."

"*Rex Israel mutavit* (3 Reg. 22:30)." Assisi, Bibl. Com., MS 555, fols. 193r–v; MS 477, 129v–131r. Schneyer identifies MS 555, fols. 192–307 as François' sermons (*Repertorium* 2:79) although he does not list this one in his catalog. Ioannes Ioli, the fourteenth-century scribe of this manuscript, identified the sermons by François with initials in the margin. The copy in MS 477, like the rest of this manuscript's sermons, does not identify an author.

LANDULFO CARACCILO OR FRANÇOIS DE MEYRONNES.

"*Produxit filium regis et posuit super eum dyadem et testimonium* (4 Reg. 11:12)." On St. Louis of Anjou. Assisi, Bibl. Com., MS 513, fols. 75v–77v. This manuscript identifies its contents as sermons of François de Meyronnes and Landulfo Caracciolo, without further specification: see C. Cenci, *Manoscritti francescani*, 1:96–97. It appears, unidentified, in two other Assisi manuscripts: MS 528 (sec. XIV), from fol. 52v; MS 578 (sec. XIV–XV), from fol. 128r.

BERTRAND DE TURRE. Schneyer (*Repertorium*, 1:558) lists one sermon by Bertrand on St. Louis of Anjou, which I have not seen: inc. "*Magister, haec omnia servavi* (Marc. 10:20)." He also lists Assisi, Bibl. Com., MS 258 as a source for Bertrand's *de tempore* sermons, on p. 549. This fifteenth-century French manuscript is identified on its spine and by a later hand on fol. 51r as wholly Bertrand's sermons, and contains four sermons on St. Louis, listed below. Three of these four sermons appear also in Assisi MS 543. On the two Assisi manuscripts see C. Cenci, *Bibliotheca manuscripta as sacrum conventum Assisiensium*, 1:94–5, 2:593–4. Bertrand's emphasis on Louis' wisdom is echoed in his sermon on Charles of Calabria (listed in Schneyer, *Repertorium*, 1:583).

"*Iuvenis et acutus inveniar in iudicio* (Sap. 8:10–11)." For St. Louis of Anjou. Assisi, Bibl. Com., MS 543, fols. 236r–237r; Assisi MS 258, from fol. 161v.

“*Quasi stella matutina* (Eccl.cus 50:6).” Same subject. Assisi, Bibl. Com., MS 543, fols. 238v–240r; Assisi, MS 258, from fol. 167v.

“*Quasi refulgens sol* (Eccl.cus 50:7).” Same subject. Assisi, Bibl. Com., MS 543, fols. 240r–241r; Assisi, MS 258, from fol. 170v.

“*Puer eram ingeniosus* (Sap. 8:19).” Same subject. Assisi, Bibl. Com., MS 258, fols. 164v–170r.

“*Propter sapientiam* (Prov. 28:2).” For the death of Charles of Calabria, 1328. Largely edited and translated in D. d’Avray, *Death and the Prince. Memorial Preaching Before 1350* (Oxford, 1994), 152–156, 191–192.

ANONYMOUS. A sermon on Saint Louis. The manuscript in which it appears is an anonymous collection of sermons of the fourteenth century, listed in Schneyer, *Repertorium*, 9:742–753. According to J.P. Boyer, “Parler du roi,” 211, these are sermons by Franciscans of Marseille, of which this sermon was composed shortly after Louis’ canonization in 1317. According to the author of the relevant manuscript catalog, the preacher “seems to be a cleric from the diocese of Toulouse”: see A. Maier, *Codices Burghesiani Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Vatican City, 1952), 181.

“*Puer eram ingeniosus* (Sap. 8:19).” Vat. Borgh. 138, fols. 239r–240v.

BARTOLOMEO DA CAPUA. From Naples, Bibl. Naz., MS VII E 2. A second manuscript of Bartolomeo’s sermons is Vienna, Staatsbibl. MS 2132. According to the dating carefully reconstructed by August Nitschke, the following sermons date from Robert’s reign: see “Die Reden des Logotheten Bartholomäus von Capua,” *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 35 (1955), 226–274.

“*Ecce rex tuus* (Mt. 21:5).” Fol. 186r–v. “Collatio facta in reduti domini regis Roberti de Provincia in regnum Sicilie, a quo diu afuerat.” Celebrating Robert’s return to the Kingdom from Provence in 1324. Edited by J.-P. Boyer, “Parler du roi et pour le roi. Deux ‘sermons’ de Barthélemy de Capoue, logothète du royaume de Sicile,” *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 79, 2 (1995), 242–247.

“*Hoc oro, ut caritas* (Phil. 1:9).” Fols. 187r–188r. “Sermo ad syndicos universitatum regni Neapolis congregatos pro petendo ab ipsis pecuniam pro instantibus persecutionibus regis.” Requesting a subsidy for the Angevin forces defending Genoa: see Nitschke 237 n. 56.

- "Nondum nec potest mater oblivisci (c. 8 C. 2 q. 6)." Fols. 190v–191r. "Collatio facta coram rege Roberto." A sermon referring to Robert's relation with Pope Clement V, and mentioning the pope's (promised) appointment of Robert as papal vicar, whence Nitschke (238) dates it after 1310.
- "*Servus cognovit* (Luc. 12:47)." Fol. 191r–v. "Sermo factus coram nobilibus, dum rex miserit contra hostes in Sicilia." Dated to the eve of an Angevin campaign against Sicily in 1314: see Nitschke 237 n. 57.
- "*Coronavit eum* (Eccli. 45:9)." Fols. 196v–197v. "Sermo . . . in publicatione facta per eum presente multitudine copiosa de coronatione incliti principis domini Roberti Ierusalem et Sicilie regis illustris." Coronation sermon, 1309. Edited by J.-P. Boyer, "Parler du roi et pour le roi. Deux 'sermons' de Barthélemy de Capoue, logothète du royaume de Sicile," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 79, 2 (1995), 236–242.
- "*Reddite omnibus debita* (ad Rom. 13:7)." Fol. 197v. "Brevis collatio quam idem logotheta fecit ad magnificum principem dominum Robertum dei gratia Ierusalem et Sicilie regem illustrem pro civibus Capuanis." Sermon regarding a subsidy offered to the crown by the town of Capua. Edited by J.-P. Boyer, "Prédication et État napolitain dans la première moitié du XIV^e siècle," in *L'État angevin. Pouvoir, culture, et société entre XIII^e et XIV^e siècle* (Rome, 1998), 153–157.
- "*Declina a malo* (Ps. 36:27)." Fols. 197v–198r. "Alius sermo quem fecit idem logotheta presente domino rege prefato et multitudine copiosa, quando fuit publicata pax habita et firmata inter ipsum dominum regem et commune Pisanum necnon inter communia Florentie, Luce, Senarum et alia communia provincie Tuscie et dictum commune Pisanum." Celebrating the treaty arranged by Robert between Pisa and Tuscan Guelf towns in 1314: see Nitschke 230.
- "*Dabo enim in domo* (Is. 56:5)." Fol. 199v. "In concessione facta per eum domino Nicolao de Joha iuris civilis profexori de exercitio prothonotariatus officii e potestate concessa dicto logothete auctoritate regia." According to Nitschke 239 n. 65, Niccolò's appointment occurred during Robert's reign.
- "*Ubi verba legis* (Is. 33:18)." Fols. 199v–200v. "Collatio quam fecit idem logotheta in obitu domini Nicolai de Joya iuris civilis profexoris gerentis vicem in ipsius prothonotariatu." On the death of the same Niccolò, which must antedate Bartolomeo's own death in 1328.

- “*Mortua est Rachel* (Gen. 35:19).” Fol. 201v. Though the rubric reads “de eodem [mortuis] coram ducissa Calabrie,” the sermon actually honors the death of a duchess: “bonitas autem vite presentis defuncte domine ducisse comendatur vobis.” See Nitschke 239 n. 63. No name is given. The duchess could be Robert’s first wife, Violante of Aragon, who died in 1302 when he was still duke of Calabria, or Charles of Calabria’s first wife, Catherine of Austria, who died in 1323.
- “*Levavit et oculos* (Gen. 22:13).” Fol. 202r. “Collatio in obitu bone memorie Umberti archiepiscopi Neapolitani.” For the death of Hubert d’Ormont, archbishop of Naples, in 1320: see Nitschke 239 n. 63.
- “*Eligite meliorem* (4 Reg. 10:3).” Fol. 202r–v. “Collatio facta coram capitulo et canonicis ecclesie Neapolitane hortando eos, ut ad electionem procederent futuri pastoris.” Urging the cathedral canons of Naples to elect Hubert’s replacement in 1320: see Nitschke 237 n. 59.
- “*Sanguinem belli non effundas* (3 Reg 2:5).” Fols. 202v–203v. “Sermo quem fecit locotheta coram domino rege sindicis universitatum regni presentibus ad habendum subsidium ab ipsis universitatibus per guerram insule Sicilie prosequendam.” Nitschke links this to a violation of the treaty of Caltabellota in 1313: see Nitschke 237 n. 56. Edited in idem, 267–274.

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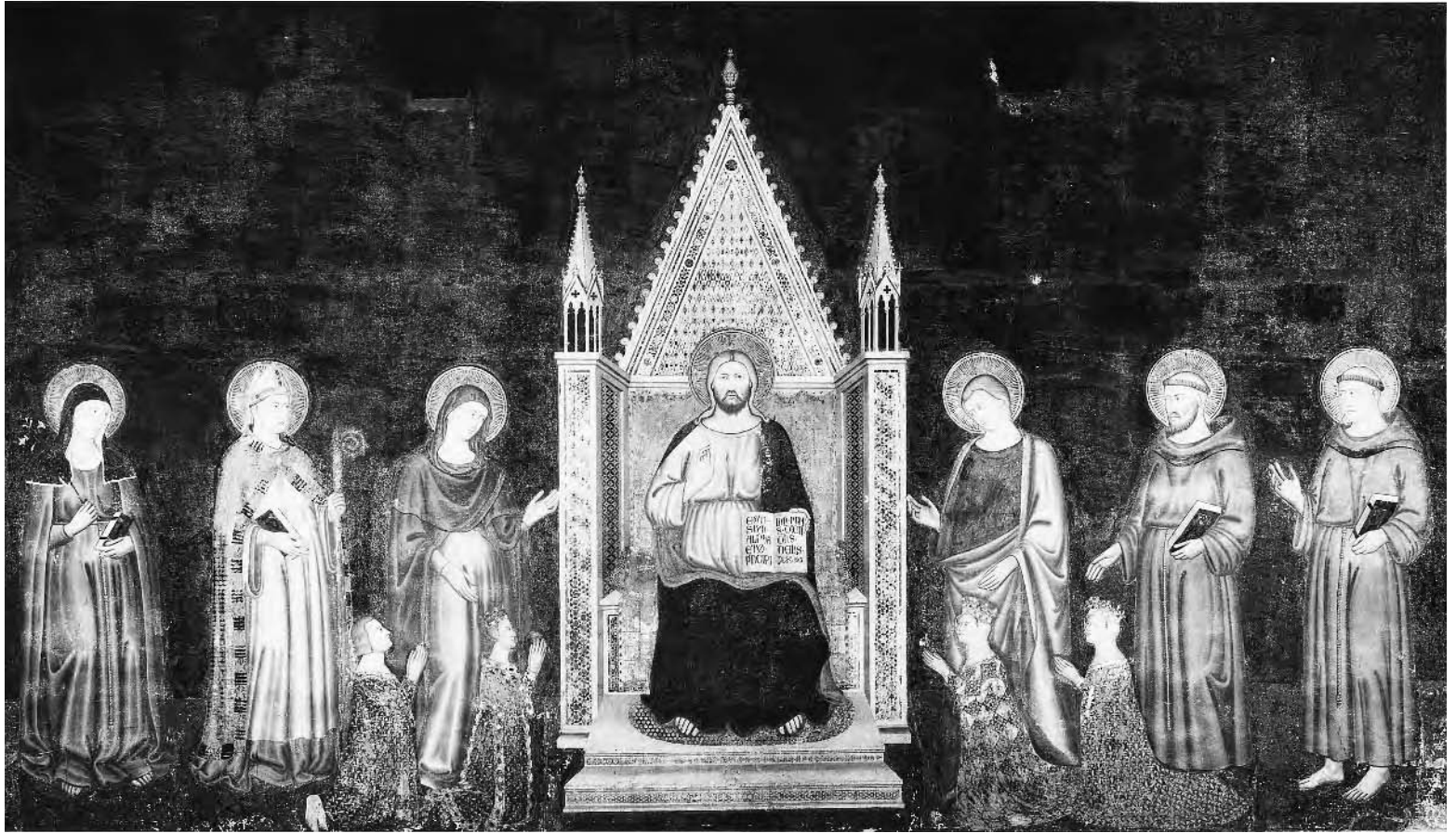
1. Saint Louis of Anjou Crowning King Robert. Simone Martini, c. 1317. Panel painting, Museo di Capodimonte, Naples. Photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione (I.C.C.D.), negative E63153.



2. Triumph of the Church (detail). Roberto d'Odorisio, c. 1352-4. Fresco, Church of Santa Maria Incoronata, Naples. Photo: I.C.C.D. negative E63345.



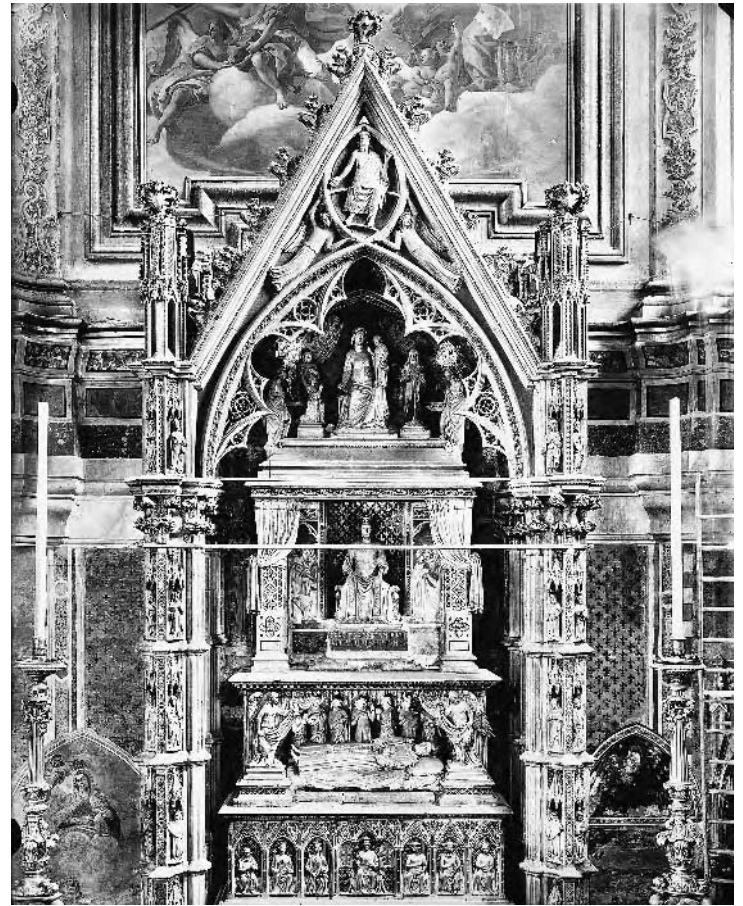
3. Saint Louis of Anjou Flanked by King Robert and Queen Sancia. Master of Giovanni Barrile, c. 1330-1340. Panel painting, Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence. Photo: Musée Granet.



4. The Redeemer Enthroned, Flanked by Saints and Angevin Royal Family. Lello da Orvieto, c. 1340. Fresco, Church of Santa Chiara, Naples. Photo: I.C.C.D., negative E66310.



5. Tomb of Charles of Calabria. Tino da Camaino, c. 1330. Church of Santa Chiara, Naples. Photo: Soprintendenza per il P.S.A.D. di Napoli, negative 32903M.



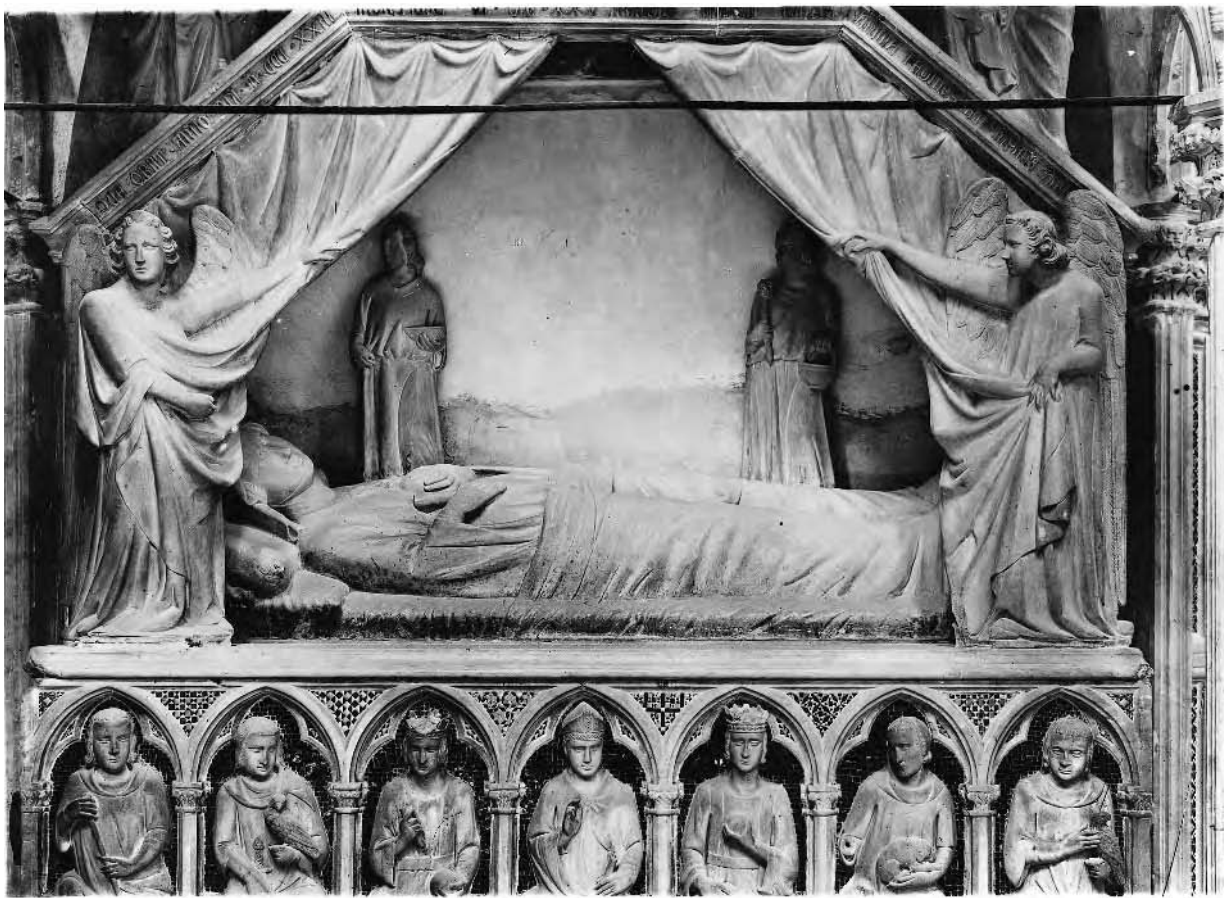
6. Tomb of Robert of Naples. Giovanni and Pacio Bertini, c. 1345. Santa Chiara, Naples. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource



7. Pentecost (above) with Saints Ladislav, Stephen, and Emeric of Hungary (below). School of Pietro Cavallini, c. 1320? Fresco, Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina, Naples.
Photo: Soprintendenza per il P.S.A.D di Napoli, negative 17381.



8. Last Judgment (detail): The Elect. School of Pietro Cavallini, c. 1320? Fresco, Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina, Naples. Photo: Soprintendenza per il P.S.A.D. di Napoli, negative 50872.



9. Tomb of Maria of Hungary. Tino da Camaino, c. 1325. Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina, Naples.
Photo: Soprintendenza per il P.S.A.D. di Napoli, negative 55281.



10. Portrait of King Robert. From the *Regia carmina*, 1335-36. Manuscript illumination, London, British Library, MS 6 E 9, fol. 10v. Photo: British Library.



Per mure potius acerrime dicit Redere
 Ne genere pie quilibet ac ope
 Per diu aduā sio confuso mente flando
 Rex interitūgens rex puerus amec
 Per cui haurit possum mea dicere pure
 Quia nescio datum uisus - eme satum
 Et lamenta fero dāpnis comotaq; multos
 Inq; modis uariis ictibus numero
 Per ego sum quondam reges nō mō princeps
 Juliam quam gens omis ubiq; uatō.
 Per nomen superfix me ego sit in ote
 Quisq; qui nōuit q; bene nota fū.
 Fugit honor uisus - claua pēta fugit
 Prima probris fugit maculata uino
 Egreuo cēstle sanguis fimen probatō
 Illuc fugit orō subesse steno
 Et gerus atq; deor - e caner patēq; reman sit

Val de fūe uenit ut fūe uenit
 Sicut nā uerba genū sensu libatūq; suam
 Pāna uenit quidem pōtēte dūdu fidē
 Pōtēte tam fōtes hālet nō lāde celestēs
 A uelūando placet plūstūm uisq; nec
 O tibi emendo Rex sio mēfio dū flando
 Nec expono tibi multa uenena bēli
 Plena uenit pēto nō pōtēte fēpe dedere
 Et fēti dū fū magis quāq; lupō
 Domuere meam puto pōtēte fēp mēda
 Et credam calidam fūe fūm ualidam
 Primum nā y plenum fūe acētoce uenena
 Tūc fūe mēto alt a lūdeq; fōis
 Et fūmas fūbit que me merere Enubat
 Anq; fūore fūo fūet hē a fūbio
 Et nō uiam solum lūare mēpū
 Sēt ambis mēpū hābēre pōpū
 O tē ex pēte que dēfleo dū Redere
 Dāpnā meo rogo compatiare rogo
 Hūc reguōs mōtō ut plūdeq; mōtō fūm fōmō
 Sūnt ad uelūtem hūc tenet unperum
 Igūo auarē iam fūge ad a fūm pōlō
 Celestēs ut opes nūdet agens mōpēs
 I mūde dūmō pūmōs - lūada fūmōs

Turbans atq; pōlūm fēdāt ubiq; pōlūm
 De reliquo dūm redere amīam
 I pū re fēte dēet lūguā q; illa fēet
 Rex pie pāce fōmō rēq; quam reuolō
 fōre uenit Nec pōssūm uenitō uī
 retinere fūo O cū lūare neq;it
 flammās reguō hūq; dēq;at
 flendēs lūcē mōn fūit hābē fūe.

Cominus nec qui par
 nūlūq; erāt
 Pūe nēq; quō amōs
 amōpōia nēit - arāt
 Et mōm lūcēmāns
 fūge hūde uale
 Impūo cūntē dūābū
 lūmō regnō
 Oūpāt at fūes plūmā
 uillā mēos
 Hē pūdet mūdm rēdet pō
 dūare uīam
 Et pūget mōtēs pōtē fūe uīos
 Nī rex lēlām dē m dēoq; fūmō
 Dēoq; hūm pāce dē quā fūo
 uūmō dūlātō Dēfū pūet rēbū rē uī
 let ac tūm
 Rex pōtēs hē certe solum dēuare
 Redere
 Et lūgā pōtēs auī lūq; pōtō
 Hūo pōtē fūe fūe rē quā uūne
 Hū dūne fūmōte uī adē fūmō
 Et pūget mōtēs tūc fūfūte lūbōe



12. Tree of Jesse (detail). Lello da Orvieto, c. 1310s. Fresco, Cathedral, Naples. Photo: I.C.C.D., negative E11162.



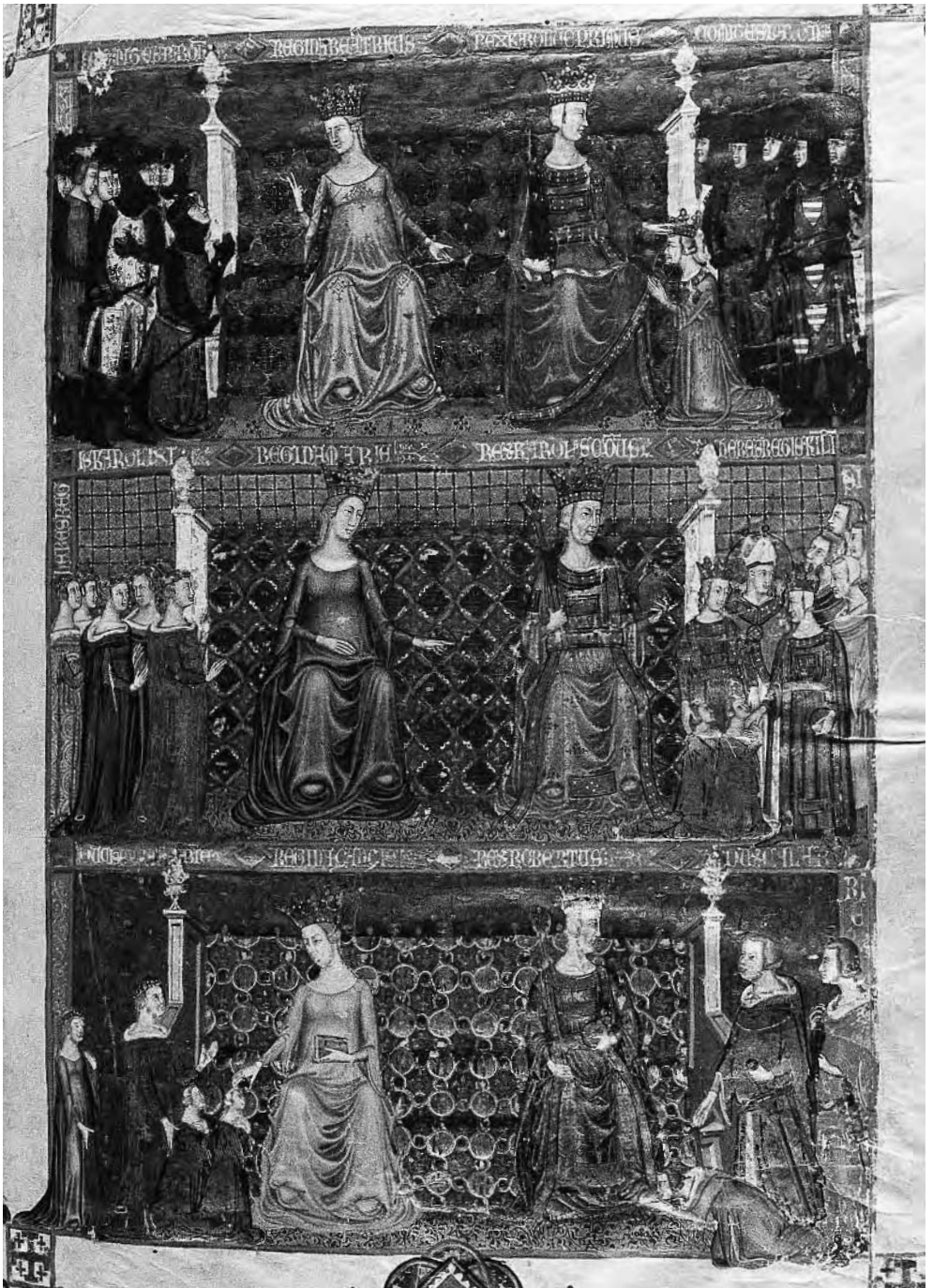
13. Christian Learning (Apotheosis of Saint Thomas Aquinas). Andrea da Firenze, c. 1370. Fresco, Spanish Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource



14. "Rex Robertus, Rex Expertus in Omni Scientia." Cristoforo Orimina, c. 1340. Manuscript illumination, from the "Bible of Malines," Leuven, Bibliothek Faculteit Theologie, MS 1, guardleaf. Photo: Bibl. Fac. Theologie.



15 King Robert as Ecclesiastes. Cristoforo Orimina, c. 1340. Manuscript illumination, from the "Bible of Malines," Leuven, Bibliothek Faculteit Theologie, MS 1, fol. 157v. Photo: Bibl. Fac. Theologie.

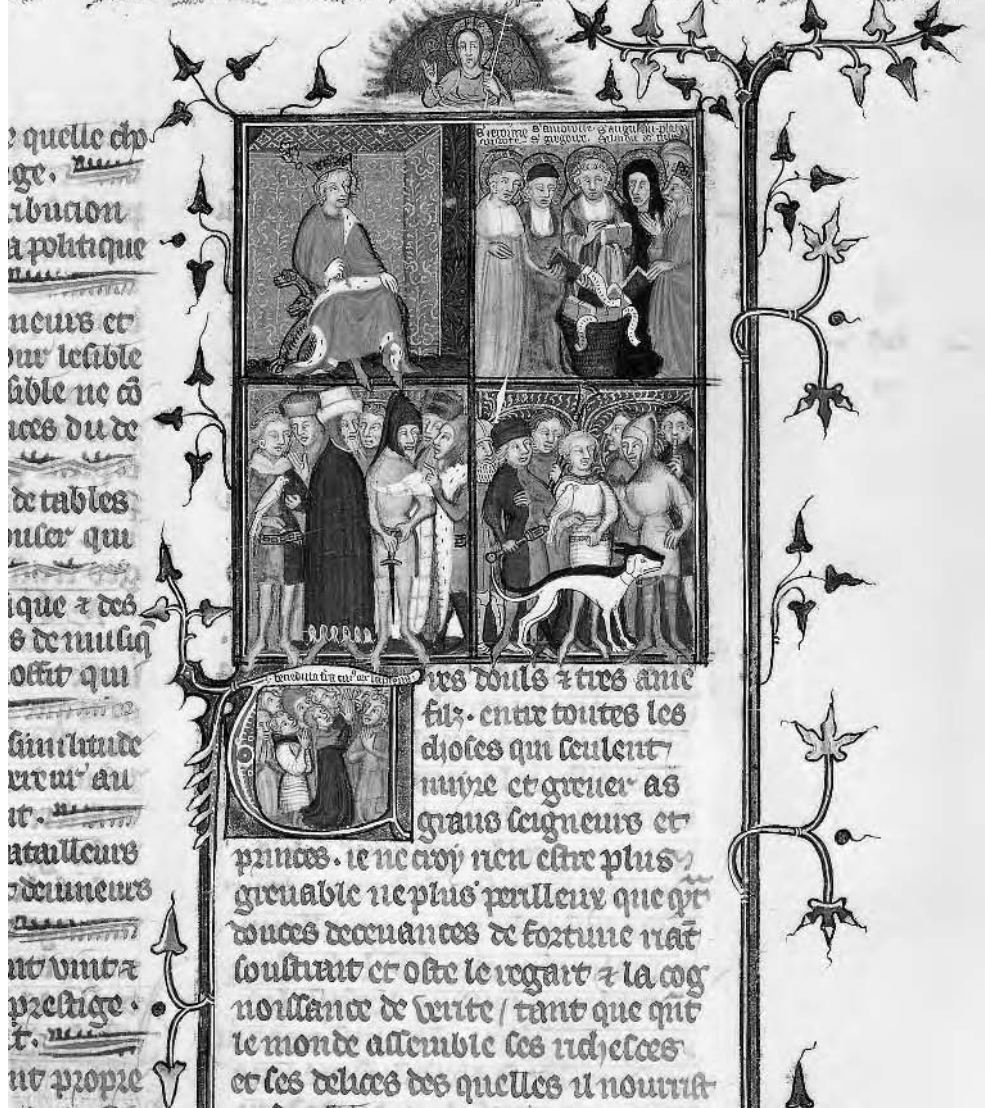


16. Genealogy of the First Three Angevin Kings. Cristoforo Orimina, c. 1340. Manuscript illumination, from the "Bible of Malines," Leuven, Bibliothek Faculteit Theologie, MS 1, fol. 4. Photo: Bibl. Fac. Theologie.



17. King Charles V of France Reading. Manuscript Illumination, Paris, BN, MS fr. 24287, fol. 1. Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale.

LEURE DE POLYCRATON



18. King Charles V of France with Wise Men. Manuscript Illumination, Paris, BN, MS fr. 24287, fol. 12. Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale.